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Arms Control & Disarmament

Need for Improved Nuclear Safeguards Highlighted

PM3008081891 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Aug 91 Union Edition p 5

[V. Matveyev "Political Observer's Opinion": "The Nuclear Factor"]

[Text] It is no surprise that the question of the future of the nuclear arsenal in our country has arisen at this time. This aspect of our domestic situation has caused growing concern among the governments of a number of countries. As is known, there were enquiries to Moscow from Washington regarding the reliability of the nuclear weapons control procedure in conditions of growing instability in the USSR. Judging by reports in the U.S. media, the U.S. administration was given assurances by our side that nuclear weapons were under control in the USSR, with continuing observance of all the requisite conditions and procedures providing the necessary safety. Moreover—which was just as important—it was pointed out that the authorities in the USSR had taken steps to remove nuclear weapons from areas where proper control might be in doubt.

Now such assurances are no longer enough. This is evidenced by statements made during the current USSR Supreme Soviet session by a number of deputies.

It has been made public that for at least three days USSR President M.S. Gorbachev, as the supreme authority controlling the nuclear weapon triggers [rychagi], was rendered unable to perform these functions, beause the triggers were in the hands of the putschists. Reports about this caused immediate concern abroad.

"One of the most horrible nightmares was beginning to be enacted," said Ted Taylor, former designer at the nuclear laboratory in Los Alamos, reacting to a report that the eight desperate conspirators were boarding an aircraft to leave Moscow. According to Taylor, he thought they were going to some remote area whence they might resort to nuclear blackmail or even worse. "I believe it was a very dangerous moment," Taylor added.

Fortunately, U.S. surveillance satellites were in operation and were able to establish that the status quo was being observed as far as nuclear missiles inside the USSR were concerned. It was on the basis of these data that President Bush said that despite the very acute situation in the USSR there were no grounds for concern regarding the possibility of any surprises in connection with Soviet nuclear weapons.

The U.S. president acted responsibly, but it is not clear what happened here at that critical time, and that is what our authoritative experts are saying.

Whatever the official representatives of military departments say about it, the fundamental aspect of the problem of nuclear weapons in our country is their vast numbers (if you count tactical warheads) and also the fact that they are scattered over a wide area. It is this aspect that has been pointed out in the past couple of years by many worried experts and specialists abroad, stressing the danger that threatens the USSR and the outside world in conditions of growing political destabilization here.

A few weeks ago it was this danger that prompted former CIA director Stansfield Turner to propose that the United States, in order to encourage a similar step by the Soviet Union, effect a significant unilateral reduction of its nuclear arsenal, leaving itself with only an essential number of nuclear warheads. There was a positive reaction to this proposal in our NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, but there the matter ended.

But despite the signing of the Soviet-American treaty on the reduction of strategic armaments, Turner's proposal is still relevant. The treaty is to be implemented over seven years. This is too long a period for carrying out the necessary measures in our country to make control of nuclear weapons more reliable in the acute situation that has occurred, above all by significantly reducing the size of the actual arsenal. So we have to accelerate this process, irrespective of the way the United States treats the deadlines for cuts of its nuclear warheads and missiles.

According to experts, the remaining arsenals of these weapons in the USSR and the United States following the upcoming reductions will still be of a size that exceeds security and defense requirements. It is hard to imagine a madman, in the form of a government, daring to use nuclear weapons. After Chernobyl this is inconceivable. As for acts of terrorism, it would not be very difficult to devise an appropriate international procedure, within the UN framework, for swift and decisive action to prevent the worst from occurring.

The currently uncertain future of the Soviet Union should be another argument in favor of radical steps to safeguard security interests in the nuclear sphere in the light of the lessons of what has taken place and what could happen.

Soviet-U.S. Commission Concludes Geneva Meeting

LD2808194191 Moscow TASS in English 1814 GMT 28 Aug 91

[By Sergey Sedov]

[Text] Geneva Aug 28 TASS—The Soviet-U.S. permanent consultative commission, established under the memorandum of understanding between the governments of the USSR and the United States of December 21, 1972, ended its regular session here today.

During the session, the sides continued to exchange views on aspects of realizing provisions and reaching the objectives of the agreements signed by the two countries on the reduction of strategic arms and measures to lessen the danger of a nuclear war breaking out.

Soviet and American negotiators agreed to hold the next session of the commission in Geneva on January 28, 1992.

RSFSR's Kobets on Nuclear Disarmament

PM2908142491 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 32, 11-18 Aug 91 p 13

[By Colonel-General Konstantin Kobets, chairman of the RSFSR State Committee for Defense: "Start the Beginning of a Cost-Efficient Defence"]

[Text] Until now the question of nuclear sufficiency was considered only in general, as some abstract ultimate goal. I am sure now it is time to move on to real figures, because our society can no longer afford to spend wastefully.

However, an open conversation on this subject today faces two basic obstacles:

Secrecy. This has always been one of the main barriers to achieving agreements at home and in the international arena. And it is symptomatic that the destruction of this barrier produced the most tangible results. START-1 is the most striking example, and to achieve this the sides had to fully reveal their nuclear potentials, including the quantity and types of nuclear weapons, deployment locations of nuclear carriers, on-spot inspection in the areas which quite recently were "the holy of holies". This required no miracle, since it has long been officially recognized on both sides that there can be no winner in a nuclear war. Hence, the role of a country's nuclear arsenal is not to defeat the enemy but to deter it from aggression. If so, then both sides must exchange not only information about their potentials but also come to an agreement on permissible levels of retaliation.

Perhaps this is exactly how experts at the USSR scientific institutions preparing recommendations for our experts at the START talks think. It only remains to assume this since the public has no official information regarding this. Only the levels of potentials before and after the reductions are published. But it is still not known what will be the agreed-upon deterrent threshold and how much it costs. The paradox is that the potential enemy (better to say the partner at the talks) knows more than our own people do.

Method of estimating. This issue is directly linked with the issue of secrecy. It is not enough to give a concrete estimate: It is necessary to show how you arrived at it. One should not necessarily describe all this in newspapers although there is nothing terrible in this. This mostly concerns experts and official publications, but the main point is that each official publication, whether it is controlled by federal or republican bodies, should calculate costs in an open, agreed-upon way. Only then is it possible to determine an acceptable military budget and get approval for top-priority armaments programs.

Unfortunately, official estimates are not explained. This automatically raises doubts among some people; is there any method at all, and if yes, then is it a good method? This is not a futile question because ultimately we all pay.

This is a serious issue. The relative profitability of different arsenals might make it possible to reduce still more our military expenditures.

However, it is quite possible that the method now used is the best. If so, prove it.

In conclusion, my proposals. Let experts understand the method of estimating nuclear deterrence as well as the quantitative levels of these estimations after the presumed strategic arms reduction. What are the criteria for determining nuclear parity, what should the level of nuclear deterrence be after the reductions are carried out, and, finally, to what degree does it exceed the agreed-upon minimum level required for adequate deterrence?

Only after this is it possible to start working out a common stand on this problem and to rule out allocating funds blindly to nuclear armaments as was actually done previously.

'Observer' Urges Nuclear Test Limitation

PM1908092591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Aug 91 First Edition p 3

[M. Ponomarev "Observer's Column" article: "Time To Stop Now"]

[Excerpts] The Soviet Union has consistently advocated a complete stop to all nuclear tests. [passage omitted]

Recently Swedish representative Mai-Britt Theorin addressed the Disarmament Committee in Geneva. She stated that, with the end of the cold war, the time had finally come, in her government's opinion, to conclude a treaty completely banning all nuclear weapons tests. Such a ban would, in her words, become "the key to nuclear disarmament."

Sweden's initiative is not the only new move toward the solution of this problem that worries all mankind. Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council, recently reported China's decision to subscribe to the International Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons. This decision created a positive response throughout the world. Virtually all the nuclear powers are now becoming party to this very important treaty. One more obstacle on the way to nuclear disarmament is being cleared.

And yet nuclear tests still go on. Last year, for example, the United States carried out eight nuclear explosions, France—six, China—two, the USSR—one and Britain—one.

Those opposed to ending the tests claim that it is impossible to keep the existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons in constant operational readiness without them. Under their pressure the U.S. Senate, for example, in ratifying the 1974 treaty demanded guarantees to ensure "the conduct of effective and permanent nuclear tests programs" and the retention of modern nuclear laboratories to ensure "constant progress in nuclear equipment." It is not difficult to understand what this means. I will only add that what is involved here is not only the verification of existing weapons nor is it their partial modernization. The switch to the creation of new, third-generation nuclear weapons is being prepared.

Yes, the threat of universal nuclear destruction has markedly declined today. The Soviet-U.S. treaties on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles and on the reduction of strategic offensive armaments are visible evidence of this. But the lessening of the threat of nuclear war in no way equates to its complete elimination. All sensible steps toward this goal should be welcomed.

A limit should be placed on nuclear weapons tests. This demand is not only in line with the new political thinking and the doctrine of defense sufficiency, by which the Soviet Union is governed, it is also in accord with the vital intersest of all mankind.

United States & Canada

Bush, Major Cited on Aid for USSR

LD2908194191 Moscow TASS in English 1148 GMT 29 Aug 91

[By Andrey Fedyashin]

[Text] Washington Aug 29 TASS—British Prime Minister John Major arrived in Kennebunkport, Maine, on Wednesday for talks with U.S. President George Bush.

During two days of informal talks, the sides are expected to discuss the West's approach to economic aid to the Soviet Union and attitude to the Baltic Republics after their declarations of independence.

In an interview with ABC television before the meeting, Major said he agreed with the U.S. president about the need to be cautious with economic aid to Moscow.

"Firstly, we want to see a credible reform programme proposed by the Soviets. No point in providing financial assistance until a credible reform programme is in place," Major said.

Asked on Wednesday if he had decided on food aid to the Soviet Union, President Bush said "not yet, but as we said with the Prime Minister of Canada, we want to do our part on that". "There's not going to be any decrees. It has to be an orderly process," the president said.

Bush said the United States will have a study programme for assessing aid to the Soviet Union, distribution of food aid and the credit situation.

Earlier on Wednesday, Major met U.S. Defence Secretary Richard Cheney and Under-Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger.

On Friday morning, the British premier is planning to leave for London and on Sunday will arrive in Moscow for talks with Soviet and Russian Presidents Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin.

Congress Asks For Openness on 'Black Programs'

PM2708110991 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Aug 91 Second Edition p 3

[By G. Kostenko: "'Black Holes' in Pentagon's Budget"]

[Text] In astronomy a "black hole" is something that belongs to the sphere of the unknown. A certain part of the U.S. military budget is the same unknown element to the U.S. public and Congress. The Pentagon's expenditures associated with secret programs (they are still called "black" programs) belong here. Specifically, within the framework of these programs work was conducted on air- and sea-launched cruise missiles and the B-2 strategic bomber.

Until recently "black programs" completely escaped congressional control. A limited number of people had access to them and there was no customary discussion of the amounts of funding for them or of their progress and implementation deadlines. All this was to some extent explained by the relatively small amount of resources spent on these programs. However, in recent years information on the increase in such appropriations has appeared in official sources of information. Thus, while they amounted to $15.2 billion in fiscal 1985, they amounted to $28.7 billion in 1991.

The proportion of secret programs in the total volume of research and development is increasing very fast—it is easier to conceal them there. It is understandable that it is harder to hide weapons of one sort or another from the public after they enter series production or are utilized in combat operations. For example, the public learned of the existence of the new F-117 warplane, which incorporates "stealth" technology, only when it took part in the military action against Panama.

The Pentagon's major contractors are the main executors of the secret programs. First in this category is Northrop, whose share of the "black programs" exceeds one-half of all the work it does for the Department of Defense. Large volumes of similar work are carried out by Lockheed, Boeing, Martin-Marietta, and others.

Expenditure on the implementation of the secret programs is hidden in the Pentagon budget in various ways. Sometimes there are only references to a code name, without revealing the essence of what lies behind it. Another method is locating expenditure on the programs within budget articles not directly related to them—military organizational development, the payroll, servicing and maintenance of military equipment, etc.

The question of wider publicity for and tighter controls on the implementation of secret programs has been raised in the U.S. Congress in connection with the increased appropriations for them. And so far, moreover, the congressmen's demands are modest. They are not seeking the declassification of "black programs" but are merely talking of granting access to the most general information regarding the military budget's secret articles. Nevertheless, the state of affairs as of today shows that there is still a long way to go to complete openness regarding U.S. military expenditure. The "black holes" are still "black holes."

China

Reaction to Yang Shangkun on Soviet Events

OW3008055691 Moscow Radio Moscow in Mandarin 1000 GMT 29 Aug 91

[By (Popov): From the "Current Events and Commentaries" program]

[Text] Sino-Mongolian relations and recent events in the USSR figured prominently in talks in Ulaanbaatar between Chinese President Yang Shangkun and Mongolian leaders. The following is a commentary by Station Commentator (Popov).

The first visit in history by a Chinese president to Mongolia indicates that positive results in bilateral relations between the countries that have accumulated over the past few years have been further strengthened. Important agreements, designed to further develop economic and trade relations, have been signed in Ulaanbaatar in the past few days. For example, agreements on Mongolia's outlet to the sea via the People's Republic of China territory and port of Tianjin; on encouraging and protecting investment; on tax matters aimed at expanding economic contact, and on granting credits and humanitarian aid to Mongolia. As expected, an agreement was reached on postponing the payment of Mongolian debt and on interest-free loans. If we take into consideration the difficulties facing China and the extremely serious floods it has just experienced, China's actions deserve praise.

The talks in Ulaanbaatar also touched on recent events in the USSR. It is only natural, not just because the events are at the focus of world attention, but because they are very sensitive events for Mongolia and China. What happens to their neighbor, the Soviet Union, is by no means irrelevant to Beijing and Ulaanbaatar. In Mongolia, the Communists have been under sharp attack by the opposition. Certainly, we do not know the nature of this debate. In his conversations with reporters in Ulaanbaatar, Chinese President Yang Shangkun said that in spite of the events in the USSR, China still wanted to develop relations with the Soviet Union. He said: To China, the events in the USSR were sudden developments. He also said that they are the internal affairs of the Soviet Union. This stand by Beijing is altogether predictable, for China has consistently not commented on other countries' internal affairs. By the way, agreements signed between the Soviet Union and China in recent years all made non-interference in each other's internal affairs the basis of bilateral relations. We could, of course, interpret this stand differently. However, we might as well recall the consequences of the intense dispute between China and the Soviet Union over ideology in the sixties. Obviously, there will be no repeat of a similar dispute. As for Sino-Mongolian relations, Chinese President Yang Shangkun's visit, it can be said, will facilitate the development of relations between the two countries.

Northeast Asia

Gorbachev Meets Japanese Deputy Foreign Minister

Receives Saito 29 Aug

LD2908214291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1534 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, 29 Aug (TASS)—USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev has received [Japanese] Deputy Foreign Minister Kunihiko Saito, special representative of Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu, who handed over a personal message to the USSR president.

Mikhail Gorbachev expressed gratitude for the attention and support of Japan and its prime minister in these difficult days for the USSR. He also characterized the situation briefly, which, in spite of all complexity and danger of the country's disintegration, has a great chance for the future. Of course, we ourselves will have to implement this chance of deep and all-embracing reformation but in a way that the hopes of all peoples are justified. But our neighbors and the international community should not miss this chance either.

The implementation of agreements reached during the USSR president's visit to Tokyo was also discussed. Mikhail Gorbachev, mentioning again the major changes in the country, expressed the opinion that there are big reserves for moves in response which could lead toward implementation of the Tokyo agreements. Japan's ambassador to the Soviet Union Sumio Edamura took part in the conversation.

INTERFAX Reports on Saito Visit

OW2908154191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1415 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] As IF [INTERFAX] learned from a spokesman for the Japanese embassy in Moscow, the USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev has found time after all for meeting with Japan's Deputy Foreign Minister Mr. Saito this afternoon. Previously it was said that the president was too busy.

On Wednesday the Japanese diplomat met with Russia's President Boris Yeltsin and presented to him a message from his prime minister. As a prominent member of Russia's foreign ministry said, the message and the ensuing conversation were confidential and dealt with the future of relations between Russia and Japan. They concerned the principles of relationship between two sovereign states.

As for concrete problems, such as Japanese aid in conducting conversion, participants in the meeting did not raise them. According to the ministry spokesman, at the meeting the Japanese side did not mention the problem of "northern territories". The possibility of B. Yeltsin's visit to Tokyo was not discussed.

Watanabe on Issues Impeding USSR-Japan Ties

PM2908105791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Aug 91 Union Edition p 4

[Interview with Michio Watanabe, leader of a faction in Japan's Liberal Democratic Party, by TASS correspondent Vasiliy Golovnin for IZVESTIYA in Tokyo; date not give: "Michio Watanabe: We Are Prevented by a Shortage of Trust"]

[Text] Watanabe is a prominent figure in Soviet-Japanese relations. This authoritative parliamentary deputy and leader of one of the factions in Japan's ruling Liberal Democratic Party has met Gorbachev and Yeltsin and visited Moscow. However, his latest visit—to the Soviet Far East in July this year—has been described by many here as historic, without the slightest hint of irony.

The indefatigable Michio Watanabe was the first Japanese to observe USSR Armed Forces exercises and was even able to sit in the pilot's seat of the supersonic bomber known in the West as Backfire. For a long time, these aircraft were a concrete symbol of the Soviet threat as far as our neighbors in the Far East were concerned. Each of them could carry out a nuclear strike against the Japanese islands. The Japanese appreciate symbolic gestures, so Watanabe's contact with the intimidating, secret Backfire persuaded many here that Soviet glasnost is genuine.

In order to avoid any possible misunderstanding, we should explain that this influential Japanese politician certainly is not one of the Soviet Union's "professional friends" whom for decades we cultivated in various countries. Watanabe is a committed representative of conservative circles and well-known for his ability to express the opinion—sometimes rather crudely, but very accurately nevertheless—of the "people in the street" who have kept Japan's Liberal Democratic Party in power for many decades. We will let him speak for himself, however.

"During my visit to the Soviet Union," he said, "people at the center and at the local level spoke of their desire to obtain Japanese capital and technology. However, it seems to me that you often do yourselves a disservice with your propensity for gigantic projects. People I spoke to in the Far East, for instance, felt that a proposal to invest 500 million yen, say, (roughly equivalent to $3.5 million) with definite guarantees was too meager an offer. However, it would be perfectly adequate for a small project such as developing timber resources, including the construction of a small domestic power plant, drying chambers, and so forth, as Cambodia does with Japanese assistance.

"The Soviet Union," Watanabe mused, "really is a country of monstrous imbalances. You were ahead of the United States in the space race and were the first country to launch a satellite. Even now you are shoulder to shoulder with the Americans in the field of this complex technology—and in some respects ahead of them. At an electronics plant I was shown in Vladivostok, however, I saw women assembling highly complex electronic circuits with their hands. I was amazed. We have not worked like that for 20 years. All that kind of thing is now done by robots which can accomplish in one minute what it would take one poor woman a whole day to produce.

"Many people in your country believe that Japanese companies dream only of how to invest money in the Soviet Union and that our government does its utmost to prevent them," Watanabe continued. "But that is not true: The government does not stand in the way of private business—it simply does not give it any help in this respect, allowing it to operate freely and at its own risk. I have also been warned that Japan will 'miss the Soviet boat' and that the Soviet market will be carved up by the United States and West Europe. Excuse me, but that kind of logic does not work in a free economy, where it is not a question of who gets there first but who can offer the best-quality, lowest-priced goods. You must understand, we welcome U.S. investment in your country, because it will make Soviet people richer and prepare the Soviet market for Japan.

"If we are going to talk about what prevents our companies from investing money in the USSR—it is because they do not trust you enough. You sign agreements—and do not abide by them. You promise to pay your debts—and do not honor your pledges, claiming to have run out of money. This behavior reminds us of the old days, when, under Stalin, the USSR violated the bilateral Treaty of Neutrality and attacked Japan in 1945 and, under Khrushchev, failed to honor the Joint Declaration of 1956. Who can guarantee that you will not deceive us in the future? I nevertheless believe that something must be done to rectify the situation and remove this distrust.

"What specifically do I propose? To give the Soviet Union emergency credits worth $350 million, i.e. approximately equivalent to the debts you have failed to pay to our firms on time. You will immediately use that money to pay the private companies concerned, and the problem will be temporarily resolved. The Soviet Union will be able to delay repayment of credit, because the clock will have been restarted and interest will not have accumulated. I personally believe that it is a very good plan."

(Author's note: I will interrupt Watanabe again for a second and add that a draft of this nature has now been prepared by the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Trade and Industry and, according to available information, could be brought into force by the end of this year).

"However," Watanabe continued, "no less important in our eyes is the absence of any clear demarcation of powers between Union authorities and, say, oblast authorities. If this matter is resolved, there will immediately be progress in our economic ties. But if there is a battle of authority and Yeltsin and Gorbachev build two states in the Soviet Union at once, your trade with Japan will dwindle even further.

"Incidentally," Watanabe said, "let us take a look at the question of international aid for the Soviet Union, which was much discussed at the G-7 meeting in London and during President Bush's visit to Moscow. I would like to assure you that most of this is just empty words. The wealthy FRG does not even have enough money to get the former GDR back on its feet. To say nothing of Italy and Canada, which simply do not have sufficient resources. I will be frank: Without Japan and its financial might, no aid program for the Soviet Union will be successful. I would like to call again for the earliest possible solution to the territorial problem between our countries. I am not saying that the islands must be returned within a month or a year, of course. However—and this is my personal opinion—if the northern territories problem were resolved, Japan could extend its pension and insurance system to Soviet citizens who are permanent residents of these territories and satisfy your security interests in one way or another—either through the demilitarization of this region or with treaty guarantees of free passage for ships. I am sure, by the way, that everything to do with our relations will be better after that. We have to rectify an old mistake made by Stalin."

A brief afterword to the interview: Of course, Watanabe's words may seem harsh and not totally consistent. However, as I have already said, many people in Japan share his opinions. There is also another reason to pay very close attention to these words. The fact is that recently Michio Watanabe openly declared his intention to fight for the post of prime minister, and people here certainly do not regard such a development of events as impossible.

ROK, PRC To Sign Trade Agreement This Year

SK2808052191 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1100 GMT 27 Aug 91

[From "Asian News" in "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] The ROK and China will sign a trade agreement and an agreement on guaranteeing capital investment this year, said Pak Yong-hak, president of the Korean Foreign Trade Association in Seoul.

An ROK business delegation returned home after ending its visit to China. The two countries agreed to establish the ROK-China economic association to develop bilateral trade and economic liaison, said an ROK leading businessman. According to YONHAP News Agency, the trade between the two countries during the first half of this year is estimated to be $2.54 billion, an increase of 50 percent over the corresponding period of last year.

Asian Leaders' Reaction to Coup Attempt

SK3008064091

[Editorial Report] Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean at 0900 GMT on 27 August carries a seven minute commentary by Moscow radio commentator (Urik Aleskyev) on reactions of Asian leaders to the "failure" in the military coup d'etat and the "normalization of the constitutional situation" in the Soviet Union.

Noting that the "militant support for and the expression of solidarity with democratic forces" in the Soviet Union by leaders of the Asian states and by "social activists" there were "superior," the commentary reports the reactions of many Asia-Pacific nations to the Soviet situation.

In referring to Philippines President Aquino's statement, the commentator says "she sincerely welcomed the return of the constitutional government in the Soviet Union" and expressed "special pleasure" at the success of many Soviet people's loyalty to "democracy."

The commentator stresses that ROK President No Tae-u expressed "pleasure at the rapid recovery of the constitutional order in the Soviet Union without much bloodshed" and "welcomed the normalization of the Soviet situation" in letters to Mikhail Gorbachev and Russian President Yeltsin. The commentator also points to the ROK Government's "readiness" to conclude a series of agreements with the Soviet Union.

The commentator states that the Singapore's prime minister expresses "great satisfaction" at the recovery of the lawful government.

In referring to North Korea, the commentator points out that "as soon as there was a report on an (?unusual) event occurring in the Soviet Union on 19 August, this country's mass media demonstrated (?loyalty) which had not been seen in them before." The commentator stresses that although this country's mass media usually report on "important international events only a few days after the fact," the North Korean papers reported on the Soviet situation the "next day" and announced the statements of our country's activists who "supported the plotters."

The commentator continues to state that the DPRK publications did not mention "even a word" about the Russian Republic Government's activities in leading the struggle "to oppose the military coup d'etat." Once the failure in the military coup was made public, the North Korean papers merely "briefly reported" on this.

The commentator says that the Mongolian president's statement expressed "great satisfaction" with the normalization of the Soviet situation, and genuine support for the Soviet people for realizing "the cause of freedom and democracy."

The commentator then describes overseas news agencies reporting that the Chinese Government and newspapers reported "in an extremely poor [pinyakhan] manner" on the "victory" of the Soviet people in "resistance" and on the "situation created in the Soviet Union."

The commentator also introduces the Indian prime minister's statment, which hailed the "victory of the great Soviet people" in their struggle against the plotters.

Near East & South Asia

Soviet Official Cited on Cooperation With Iraq

LD2808231891 Moscow Radio Moscow in Arabic 1400 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] It seems today that the issues of economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and Arab countries have fallen behind the shadow of the political events happening in the Middle East. We would like to present an interview prepared by our correspondent at the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations concerning Soviet-Iraqi cooperation in the field of economics.

(Nikolay Nifskiy), the official in charge at this Ministry, has replied to our correspondent's questions:

[Begin recording] [(Nifskiy), in Russian fading to Arabic translation] The state of trade and economic cooperation with the Iraqi Republic before the war can be described, to some extent, as large scale. The overall volume of commitments, according to agreements agreed upon, was nearly 2.7 billion rubles [R], 1.9 billion of which was absorbed, and 84 establishments and cooperation projects were executed out of the original 96. The biggest objective of the cooperation was the exploitation of oil reservoirs in western al-Qurnah and the laying of the Nasiriyah-Baghdad gas pipeline, the construction of al-Yusufiyah electric station, and the hydraulic installations on the Tigres and the Euphrates Rivers. We also dug oil wells and constructed oil rigs. After the events in the Gulf, however, our experts left Iraq and work stopped on the contracted installations. In fact, it was agreed at the time that Soviet establishments would resume work on all these installations after the lifting of the boycott and the normalization of the situation.

A number of urgent matters have emerged after the war which required a solution. First, a great number of installations were heavily damaged after the war. Some equipment was put out of order while the rest was dismantled and stolen. Second, Iraq stoppd paying us because of the boycott. Iraq's debts to us up till now, only for Soviet state loans, are nearly R1.2 billion in the form of trade loans. Third, prices have risen sharply in Iraq and if the question of resuming work was considered, this would incur a chain of large expenditures.

How do you see, then, the prospects of Soviet-Iraqi economic cooperation, (Nifskiy) was asked?

(Nikolay Nifskiy) replied: Regarding the future, there are prospects for cooperation between us. The Iraqis have submitted a list of their requests which came to fill nearly 15 pages including various kinds of equipment, and building materials for more than 20 installations. We have submitted that to the previous government and got its approval.

In conclusion, (Nikolay Nifskiy) said: We belive that cooperation with Iraq is of mutual benefit. However, the situation emerged in a way that made it impossible for our establishments to resume work without a resolution from the UN Security Council lifting the sanctions against Iraq.

Moscow Analyst Views Recent Iran-Iraq Talks

NC2908100791 Moscow Radio Moscow in Persian 1430 GMT 28 Aug 91

[By Yuriy Andreyev]

[Text] The three days of talks between Iraqi Deputy Foreign Minister Mr. Sa'd al-Faysal and Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati have ended in Tehran. Our analyst Yuriy Andreyev writes:

Sa'd al-Faysal arrived in Tehran on 24 August. He carried out two rounds of talks with Deputy Foreign Minister Manuchehr Mottaki before being received by higher-ranking officials including 'Ali Akbar Velayati.

In the statements issued by both sides on Tuesday, it was reported that their talks dealt with the disputed border issues, the problem of Iraqi refugees in Iran, and a POW exchange. Tehran and Baghdad assessed their talks as positive and agreed to continue contacts on the government level. Iraq rejected Iran's proposal to help it reconstruct the Muslims' holy shrines in Karbala' and al-Najaf. That is all the official statements say on the talks.

We would only add that according to reports from UN Headquarters, UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar will arrive in Tehran on an official visit on 10 September. This visit is linked with the fact that problems concerning UN Security Council Resolution 598 on overcoming the Iran-Iraq conflict remain unresolved. Among these problems is the payment of war reparations and the formation of an impartial body that will be charged with identifying the aggressor in the Iran-Iraq war.

According to preliminary assessments by international experts, Iran suffered $1,000 billion worth of damage during the war. Tehran is obviously trying to exploit

Iraq's isolation in the international scene to pressure Baghdad to come up with the money.

After efforts to overthrow Saddam Husayn's regime through war proved useless, the Iranian leadership resorted to other methods. Even though it is no longer trying to get everything it possibly can in the negotiations, Iran is still asking for a lot. Not long ago Iran sat at the negotiating table with Iraq. It did, however, ask for things that will be difficult to carry out.

For example, Tehran demanded the payment of an astronomic sum as war reparations, official recognition that Baghdad was the aggressor in the war, and the solution of the remaining territorial problems to Iran's benefit. The fulfillment of these requests will be tantamount to Baghdad's complete diplomatic and political surrender to Iran. Naturally, Iraq's current administration does not want to give in to such demands.

It is interesting to note that the current Iran-Iraq talks did not yield any specific outcome and that the two sides only managed to issue general statements on the meeting.

Newspaper's Call for Hekmatyar's Death Viewed

TA2908170791 Moscow Radio Moscow in Dari to Afghanistan 1500 GMT 29 Aug 91

[By Sergey Viktorov]

[Text] Dear listeners, KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL newspaper published in Iran, which is close to that country's radical circles, has openly called for the physical elimination of Golbuddin Hekmatyar, leader of Hezb-e Eslami Afghanistan. Talks are under way in the Iranian capital between the government's representatives, the Pakistani Government, and four Afghan opposition groups based in Pakistan. Three Afghan antigovernment leaders—namely, Sayyaf, Yunes Khales, and above all Hekmatyar—have refrained from taking part in the talks. Is this a coincidence? Radio Moscow commentator Sergey Viktorov writes on this:

I believe that KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL's call for the killing of Hekmatyar is directly connected to his nonparticipation in the Tehran talks. This is the consequence of Hekmatyar's stance toward Iran in respect to settling the Afghan problem. Apparently, Iran has serious interests in neighboring Afghanistan and provides all-out support to the Shiite mojahidin groups. Hekmatyar is adamantly opposed to giving a major role to the Shiite mojahidin groups in Afghanistan's future leadership. Perhaps it is for this very reason that he, along with Sayyaf and Khales, boycotted the Tehran talks.

They are well aware that the Iranian Government is persisting in consolidating the position of its Shiite friends. Evidently, in this case the position of the hardliners in the Afghan opposition movement, namely, Hekmatyar, Khales, and Sayyaf, are not even ready to hear one word about a political solution of the Afghan problem, will be undermined. Therefore, they are ignoring the Tehran talks.

At the same time, Iran's measures, which recently have been aimed at encouraging international efforts for resolving the Afghan issue, are in effect seeking a political solution of the problem. But, apparently, even with Islamabad's help, Tehran alone is unable to realize this objective. I believe that the Afghan problem cannot be solved without the participation of other countries, first and foremost the Soviet Union and the United States, as well as all international forums, because this is a very complex problem. The efforts and the agreement of many sides, both in Afghanistan and in the international arena, are essential. In contrast, the stance of the Afghan opposition's radical leaders, above all Hekmatyar himself, leads to the continuation of bloodshed in the country.

Moscow-Tel Aviv Discussion on Railway Project

OW2608084791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1245 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Israel's construction and investment company, Israel Land Development Ltd., is planning to offer two railway projects to Soviet construction companies including an 80 kilometer railway line between Tel Aviv and Jerusalem and a 200 kilometer line between Bezr-Sheva and Eilat. Under a recent deal providing for "a technical and economic assessment report", a team of experts from the Soviet railway construction ministry are due to go Israel soon to examine the project's feasibility.

The project running at hundreds of millions of dollars also provides for the construction of a 100 kilometer-long canal to link the Dead Sea and the Mediterranean as well as an airport close to Eilat. The turnkey project also provides for Soviet supplies of equipment and materials.

Experts say Israel stands to gain if the Soviet Union wins the tender. Israel which has certain difficulties in financing projects can wring out better terms and employ local workforce, including Soviet emigres. A French construction company is also keen to land the contract.

LTTE Urged To Surrender Arms Before Talks

BK2908102791 Moscow Radio Moscow in Tamil 1500 GMT 28 Aug 91

[By Vasant Georgiyev]

[Text] The PRESS TRUST OF INDIA has reported that the leaders of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam [LTTE] have expressed their willingness to begin talks with the Sri Lankan Government to put an end to the ethnic conflict there. Our commentator Vasant Georgiyev writes:

The LTTE militants faced a crushing defeat in the battle for the strategically-important Elephant Pass area. The Indian security forces' operation to eliminate the LTTE camps in Tamil Nadu and Karnataka has played a significant role in this matter. Therefore, several papers have pointed out that the LTTE leaders have been constrained to accept the fact that there is no use in continuing the armed conflict to establish an independent nation called Tamil Eelam. But it is known to everybody that Sri Lankan President Ranasinghe Premadasa, who proposed that the LTTE leaders begin peace talks, has put forward several preconditions. For instance, he called upon the LTTE militants to openly shun the path of violence, end hostilities, and surrender their arms.

Meanwhile, after the announcement by LTTE leaders expressing their willingness to begin peace talks, armed clashes occurred between the LTTE militants and the government forces in the northeastern part of Sri Lanka. Here it should be noted that the LTTE leaders had, on several occasions in the past, announced their willingness to hold talks. If the LTTE leaders are really willing to initiate a peaceful dialogue this time to bring the ethnic conflict to an end, they should take decisive steps to accomplish it. That is, they should surrender their arms first as proposed by the Sri Lankan Government.

Sub-Saharan Africa

National Party Constitutional Proposals Viewed

MB2908081691 Moscow Radio Moscow in Afrikaans 1700 GMT 27 Aug 91

[By Aleksandr Fedorov—read by announcer]

[Text] The ruling National Party of South Africa has drafted a concept document with proposals for a new constitution for the country. Aleksandr Fedorov comments:

If the article in the South African newspaper RAPPORT is confirmed then it will be the most important step taken by the National Party in the history of its existence. Fedorov believes that the proposals are more important than the scrapping of the three cornerstone laws of apartheid. These acts governed the most important facets of society but did not affect the principles of the system of separate development. The proposals made by the National Party makes provision for elections based on a one-man-one vote system, which according to most of the liberation organizations, will create the opportunity to bring about the demise of apartheid and to enable the building of a democratic South Africa.

Thus far the idea of a one man-one vote system was rejected by the National Party, as well as all the presidents and prime ministers of South Africa. However, it was evident that the black majority would not believe in Mr. De Klerk's commitment to end apartheid until this most definitive step was taken. The leadership of the National Party who earlier announced its reform program, has apparently decided now that they cannot hold back any longer. They realized that the course of constitutional negotiations was coming to a halt and that the situation in the black townships was worsening.

If the trilateral talks between the government, the African National Congress [ANC] and Inkatha has delivered any results, then it was only on the political level. However, it has become evident that the agreement would not be enough to stabilize the situation in the black townships and to prevent attacks from far right-wing organizations and the Conservative Party.

The National Party suggests that the post of president should be scrapped and replaced by a council comprising of three to five people, as well as the formation of a cabinet on a multiparty basis. Fedorov believes that the Conservative Party will depend on this and would actually find supporters among the white population. Neither the right-wing nor the left-wing is acknowledging Mr. De Klerk's contribution toward the dismantling of apartheid and his ability to relieve political tension. Nobody is denying the honesty of President De Klerk as a politician and as a person.

The Conservative Party who is opposed to the scrapping of the presidential post will argue that the proposed council to replace the post of state president will not be in a position to relieve political tension and remove the competition between parties and organizations. The National Party plans to present its proposals to the party's federal congress on 4 September. The document which has been prepared for one and one-half years also makes provision for proportional representation of parties with proven support and the creation of nine regions in the country, each governed by its own administration.

All this is planned for the future and this will be in the foreseeable future if the political parties across the spectrum acknowledges this new step by the National Party which will lead to the democratization of the South African society.

East Europe

Romania Anticipates Moldovan Independence

Envoy on Recognition

LD2908190891 Moscow TASS in English 1349 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow Aug 29 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Kvitsinskiy on Thursday received Romanian Ambassador to the Soviet Union Vasile Sandru at his request.

Sandru informed Kvitsinsky about the Romanian Government's decision to recognise the independence of Moldavia and its readiness to develop friendship and cooperation with Georgia on the basis of the UN Charter and international law.

Kvitsinsky said the international and legal status of Moldavia and Georgia comes under the jurisdiction of the Soviet Union and said he will inform the Soviet leadership about the Romanian Government's decision.

Iliescu Comments on Independence

PM3008094191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Aug 91 Union Edition p 4

[By V. Volodin: "Peals of Bells for Moldova"]

[Text] Bucharest—The Romanian capital greeted with peals of church bells and a mass rally on Bucharest's main square the news of the proclamation of Moldovan independence.

Speaking on Central Television prior to the adoption of this decision enshrining Moldova's secession from the USSR, an unusually serious President I. Iliescu gave his opinion of the act under preparation, beginning by saying that the dynamic development of events in the Soviet Union is occupying world public attention. He saw USSR President M. Gorbachev's resignation as general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee as confirmation of his commitment to the democratization process, to ideas of a multiparty system, and to creating a rule-of-law state.

Noting the importance of the proclamations of independence in the Baltic states, the Ukraine, and Moldova, Iliescu said: "We can be said to be the generation that saw the collapse of the last multiethnic empire."

Touching on Romania's position, Iliescu said that the Romanian Government has offically stated that it recognizes the independence of the three Baltic republics and the Ukraine: "Romania will undoubtedly," he said, "be the first country to recognize Moldova's independence, the proclamation of which is an important moment in the lives of our brothers across the Prut."

The act of the proclamation of Moldovan independence, the president stressed, is the logical consequence of the political reforms that have hitherto been implemented in the USSR. Moldova's transition to the Latin script, the adoption of the national "tricolor" flag and emblem, the change in the republic's name, and the proclamation of sovereignty were stages on the road to independence, the proclamation of which was hastened by the abortive putsch in Moscow.

Gorbachev Calls To Thank Walesa

LD2808180391 Moscow TASS in English 1735 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow Aug 28 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev today had a telephone conversation with President Lech Walesa of Poland.

Gorbachev thanked the Polish president and people for their support of a just cause during last week's coup.

Walesa said Poland and the USSR are historically bound together and stressed the interest in the development of Polish-Soviet relations along different lines.

Poland, he noted, views with understanding the difficulties the Soviet Union is now living through and will do nothing that could impede democratic reforms in the Soviet Union.

Gorbachev welcomed this stance and stressed that good-neighbourly, friendly relations with Poland are part of the Soviet Union's strategy.

The presidents touched upon some problems in Soviet-Polish relations and agreed to examine them in depth during the forthcoming visit to Moscow of Vice President Leszek Balcerowizc.

Gorbachev and Walesa said they hoped to meet soon.

Agreement Likely on Troop Withdrawal From Poland

PM2908102491 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Aug 91 Single Edition p 5

[By Lieutenant Colonel V. Petrukhin: "Real Prospects Open Up"]

[Text] In a television interview J. Sulek, head of the Polish delegation at the Soviet-Polish intergovernmental talks on the Soviet troop withdrawal from Poland and the transit of units from the Western Group of Forces through its territory, stressed that progress was made at the eleventh round of talks that have just ended. The sides virtually reached agreement on the dates for the withdrawal. Now the dates must be approved by both states' leadership. There are real prospects, Sulek said, of a definitive agreement on all accords during the next round of talks to be held in Moscow at the end of September.

In this connection Poland's mass media note that the Soviet Unon, despite any circumstances, is committed to its previous course of fully withdrawing its troops from abroad.

Diplomat Comments on Pankin's Views

LD2908222491 Prague Federal 1 Television in Czech 2000 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Interview with Aleksandr Lebedov, Soviet Embassy Counsellor in Prague, by unidentified reporter, in Prague on 29 August; Lebedev speaks in Russian with superimposed Czech translation—recorded]

[Text] Today we spoke about obstructions to signing a Czech-Soviet treaty with a representative of the Soviet side, Aleksandr Lebedev who is, after the appointment of Boris Pankin to the post of minister of foreign affairs and his subsequent departure to Moscow, the most senior diplomat of the Soviet Union in Czechoslovakia.

[Lebedev] I am convinced that the path toward signing the treaty will be unblocked now because the obstructions on this path were in fact created by certain political forces, certain people in our country—the people who perhaps were not in physical or direct contact with those involved with the putsch, I cannot be sure and they could have been in contact with them, but anyway, they were the people falling into this category, of this trend of thinking. They created problems and hindered the process of looking for a compromise regarding the treaty.

Now these people have gone—but not all of them; for instance Yuriy Kvitsinskiy who is first deputy minister at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, at least for the time being, led these talks to a considerable degree and was not helpful at all in looking for a compromise. Rather the contrary, he created problems. This is my personal assessment of his stance but I would say he behaved as dealing from the position of a superpower, using an imperial and arrogant tone and he did not try to find a compromise as far as the content is concerned. All this should change now.

[Reporter] You have worked together with Boris Pankin for a long time, you are his friend of long-standing. I would like to ask you what kind of a person he is, as a politician or a diplomat?

[Lebedev] You know, at the moment it is very difficult for me to be assessing him. I can openly say that he is a man of great talent. His writing is excellent and he has written a lot.

[Reporter] He is originally a journalist, is he not?

[Lebedev] Yes, he is a journalist, writer and publicist. I would not like to disclose a secret but I think that he managed to write something very interesting during the nights which have just passed—but let him tell you this himself.

He is not a professional international diplomat [pracovnik], at least in the sense that he is not a graduate of the Institute of International Relations, from which I graduated a long time ago, 30 years ago. In fact, I am not a career diplomat, either. In fact, he is more of a career diplomat than I am. He was ambassador to Sweden and my feeling is that he is still remembered in Sweden as a very talented diplomat who managed to establish good relations and find ways out of very difficult and sometimes critical situations. He managed to do this also in this country.

[Reporter] What kind of policy can we expect from him toward Czechoslovakia, Europe, the United States, and disarmament?

[Lebedev] His background shows that in the direction of European policy he will apparently implement the line not simply of the new declaratory political thinking but because he believes in this philosophy. I have no doubt whatever about this. He will of course implement it in practical terms. He does not have any special inclinations. It was said about some of our diplomats that this one was pro-European, another was rather in favor of relations with the United States, still another was said to have pro-German sentiments, while yet another one nurtured anti-German ones; another one believed that East and Central Europe were small countries which did not warrant any special attention, that they were on the periphery of things; others leaned on the other hand toward Asia, and so on. But I believe that he has a very balanced view of the direction of policy. We talked about it a great deal. It must, however, be a progressive, democratic policy based on a democratic internal policy, on a democratic regime which I hope will in the end stabilize itself in our country.

Soviet Ambassador Talks About Attitude on Coup

AU2308133691 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 22 Aug 91 p 3

[Interview with Ivan Aboimov, extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador of the USSR to Hungary, by an unidentified reporter, on 21 August; place not given: "The Overwhelming Majority of Us Were Against the Coup"]

[Text] We asked Ivan Aboimov to inform us about the way the Soviet diplomats and the members of the Soviet colony reacted to the coup.

[Aboimov] As for the Soviet colony in Budapest, the anti-putschist attitude had an overwhelming majority from the beginning. It is true that there were other opinions, too. The vast majority believed and hoped that constitutional order would be restored in the Soviet Union. We are sincerely pleased that events are developing and progressing in this direction.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Mr. Aboimov, have you read the statement of Boris Pankin, your colleague in Prague?

[Aboimov] I think it was a statement befitting a citizen, and I agree with it. Especially because ambassadors, as is well known, have little room for independent action. At the embassy in Budapest we considered it our main task to inform our foreign ministry with the utmost precision and objectivity about the way public opinion and government circles viewed the Soviet events. As is known, in this case, their view was clearly negative and condemning, and our embassy reported this accordingly. We also reported on the letters and appeals we received that assured support for Gorbachev and Yeltsin. I believe that this had its own significance.

Soviet Warships Arrive in Constantsa on Visit

PM2908111491 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Aug 91 First Edition p 2

[TASS report under the general headline "Visits by Ships"]

[Text] Constantsa, 16 Aug—The Romanian port of Constantsa greeted a detachment of Soviet warships which arrived here Wednesday [14 August] on a visit with the traditional national salute. The detachment is headed by Vice Admiral G. Gurinov, chief of staff of the Black Sea Fleet. The detachment consists of the large ASW ship Azov and the patrol ship Bezukoriznennyy.

The U.S. Navy command ship Belknap, under the flag of Vice Admiral W. Owens, commander-in-chief of the 6th Fleet, and also Turkish and Bulgarian warships arrived here at the same time.

Having visited the large ASW ship Azov, Romanian Minister of National Defense C.N. Spiroiu highly rated Soviet sailors' military equipment and combat training.

The Soviet warships' crews will take part in festive events devoted to Romanian Navy Day.

West Europe

Gorbachev Receives British Ambassador

LD2908195391 Moscow TASS in English 1946 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow Aug 29 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev on Thursday received British Ambassador to the Soviet Union Rodric Braithwaite.

Gorbachev informed Braithwaite about the current situation in the country and efforts to eliminate the consequences of last week's abortive coup.

They discussed issues concerning the forthcoming meeting between Gorbachev and British Prime Minister John Major in Moscow.

Major To Visit Moscow; Hurd To Visit Baltics

LD2708222991 Moscow TASS in English 2201 GMT 27 Aug 91

[By Aleksandr Sisnev]

[Text] London Aug 28 TASS—Prime Minister John Major of Great Britain will pay a brief visit to the Soviet Union on September 1.

It became known on Tuesday that the British prime minister will make a stop-over in Moscow en route to Beijing.

Major will hold talks with President Mikhail Gorbachev of the USSR and President Boris Yeltsin of the Russian Federation, as well as with the leaders of the democratic movement. It is not ruled out that the prime minister will also meet representatives of the Baltic Republics.

It also transpired on Tuesday that the British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd will visit Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia over the coming weekend to discuss bilateral relations between Britain and the three Baltic republics.

British Experts Assess Transcarpathian Information

PM2908114291 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Aug 91 Union Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Request Met"]

[Text] In accordance with the provisions of the 1990 Vienna document on confidence- and security-building measures in Europe, the British Government asked the Soviet Union 14 August 1991 for permission to assess information about military forces and plans for the deployment of basic arms systems and equipment in the Transcarpathian Military District's 301st Motorized Infantry Regiment.

Britain's request for an assessment was met. British representatives arrived in the Transcarpathian Military District 20 August and assessed the information provided.

UK Cancels Planned Contacts With Soviet Navy

PM2308122591 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Aug 91 Single Edition p 3

[By Yuriy Levchenko: "Contacts Cancelled"]

[Text] London, 21 Aug—In the light of recent events in the USSR, Britain's Defense Ministry announced the cancellation of all planned contacts with the USSR Navy for a joint celebration of the 50th anniversary of the organization of the "northern convoys" from England to Murmansk during World War II.

It was specifically announced that the invitation extended to the Soviet destroyer Okrylennyy for a good will visit to the port of Plymouth 29 August has been withdrawn. Likewise, the scheduled visit to Murmansk and Arkhangelsk by the British frigate London and the auxiliary vessel Tidespring has been cancelled.

Embassy Staff in FRG Disband Party Organization

LD2708094391 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1900 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] The party organization of the USSR Embassy in the FRG in Bonn decided to disband itself today. Journalists accredited here were also part of the organization. On the demand of the collective, it was decided to transfer the funds in the account of the party organization amounting to more than 10,000 German marks to the assistance fund for overcoming the consequences of the anticonstitutional putsch.

FRG Grants Request To Evaluate Army Unit

PM2908112491 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Aug 91 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Request Met"]

[Text] In accordance with the provisions of the 1990 Vienna document on confidence- and security-building measures in Europe, the USSR requested the FRG's permission to carry out an evaluation of information on the military forces and plans for the deployment of basic weapons systems and hardware in the FRG's 31st Motorized Infantry Brigade of the 11th Motorized Infantry Division of the 1st Army Corps stationed in the city of Oldenburg.

The USSR's request to carry out an evaluation was granted.

The Soviet representatives carried out the evaluation of information 21 August.

Western Group Denies Purging Gorbachev Supporters

LD2708130391 Berlin ADN in German 1142 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The Western Group of Soviet Armed Forces has denied reports of alleged purges in its ranks before the failed coup in the Soviet Union. A statement issued by the group's press office today says that rumors that ideological purges had been carried out on persons in the Western Group who swore their loyalty to Mikhail Gorbachev did not correspond with the truth. The press center said this citing Colonel M. Karelin, former secretary of the CPSU Committee in the Armed Forces. [passage omitted]

Western Group Statement on Activities

LD2708134991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1835 GMT 27 Aug 91

[By Vladimir Pavlyushin]

[Text] Berlin, 27 Aug (TASS)—In accordance with the plan for preparing combat-readiness, a group of generals and officers of the Western Group of Forces [WGF] inspected the combined units and units deployed in the Brandenburg and Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania lands on 26 August. The resolving of practical issues on insuring the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Germany by sea in the ports of departure was also included in the scope of their tasks.

This circumstance was the reason for unfounded anxiety on the part of the German authorities. In connection with this the press center of the WGF states that such trips of the military authorities are undertaken on a regular basis and that this is a recognized practise in commanding subordinate forces and controlling their activities.

Honecker 'Probably' Extradited 'Soon'

LD2908104391 Berlin ADN in German 0958 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—Former state and SED chief Erich Honecker will probably be extradited to Germany soon. This was reported by the Russian news agency RIA today, quoting an unnamed employee in the Soviet Foreign Ministry. He said the Soviet authorities may react positively to the German extradition request after the radical changes in his country. The agency states that Soviet officials have so far refused to give any information about Honecker's present whereabouts in the Soviet Union.

Latin America & Caribbean

Argentine President Telephones Gorbachev

LD2408180491 Moscow TASS in English 1757 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow Aug 24 TASS—Argentine President Carlos Menem called Gorbachev today. He expressed profound satisfaction over the failure of the attempted reactionary coup in the USSR.

During a short conversation the Soviet and Argentine presidents expressed the intention to cooperate and develop relations between the two countries loyal to democracy.

Uruguayan Foreign Minister Interviewed

PY2208163091 Moscow Radio Moscow in Spanish to Latin America 2300 GMT 21 Aug 91

[Radio Moscow was not heard to carry first part of interview]

[Text] Today is the 65th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Uruguay. Yesterday we transmitted the first part of an interview with Dr. Eduardo Mezzera, Uruguay's foreign affairs deputy minister, by our correspondent Mikhail Tikhon. The interview was recorded in Montevideo a few days ago. In the first part of the dialogue, Dr. Mezzera said that at this time we have excellent diplomatic relations with the USSR, at a level we never reached before. Here is the final part of the interview.

[Tikhon] How are trade and commercial relations between the two countries doing?

[Mazzera] Our commercial relations are doing very well. We have always found a good market for some of our traditional products such as wool. Then we purchase oil from the Soviet Union. Our relations are very good even though there are some inconveniences lately because of the well-known problems. But those inconveniences are proof of our good relations because we were able to overcome them through credit mechanisms and payment agreements. These agreements have helped solve the problem resulting from the present difficult circumstances in the Soviet Union, which are the consequences of recent changes that have shaken the economy. There is a new system being implemented, there are commercial channels that were not used before, and there are systems that were not known and are being used now. I think our trade relations will get stronger with the opening in Soviet commerce. The effect will be felt in trade to and from the Soviet Union.

[Tikhon] What are the prospects for improving relations in the different fields?

[Mazzera] Our country's relations with the Soviet Union will increase in the future. Diplomatic relations have become easier lately. The work of the Soviet ambassador in Uruguay has been quite successful. He has maintained very good relations with the foreign ministry. We talk quite often. This dialogue permits further agreements. We are even thinking about the convenience of improving relations at the level of UN delegations in order to coordinate political positions. We think the Soviet Union's opening process will allow for smoother relations, increased consultations, and the sharing of decisions at the world level, much more than in the past.

Nikolayenko Meeting With Cuban Ambassador

PM2308095391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Aug 91 Union Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] V.D. Nikolayenko, USSR deputy foreign minister, received J.R. Balaguer, Cuban ambassador to the USSR, at the latter's request 20 August. During the conversation the ambassador was given explanations regarding certain international aspects of internal events in the USSR, and topical questions relating to Soviet-Cuban relations were discussed.

Soviet Oil Specialists in Cuba

914M0006A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Aug 91 First Edition p 5

[Text] *In the spring of 1988, I had occasion to witness the signing in Havana of an extraordinary Soviet-Cuban contract. The parties agreed to begin construction on the island of the Amistad-Druzhba main oil pipeline, the first in its history. The peculiarity of the contract consists in that for the first time in the practice of our economic aid to Cuba, Soviet specialists have begun to work under contractual conditions.*

The crooked pipeline has intersected the republic from the Straits of Florida to the Caribbean Sea, joining the cities of Matanzas and Cienfuegos, the former being a port for supertankers and the latter having an oil refinery, both of which, incidentally, were constructed with our assistance.

It was planned for the construction of the Druzhba to take two years but it was delayed. The reasons will be discussed below. But this large project, which cost the USSR 62 million rubles [R], is not included on the list of Soviet-Cuban long-term construction projects as, for instance, the nuclear power station or the oil refinery in Cienfuegos were.

There is a lot of activity on the outskirts of Matanzas, not far from the immense reservoirs from which the oil runs through the pipes for processing in Cienfuegos. The staff for the project are housed here in special small trailers. The sign on the door to one of them indicates: "Soviet Administration for Construction of the Petroleum Pipeline in Cuba. General Director Sergiyenko, V.A."

Vladimir Antonovich is a cordial and polite person and, in spite of his achievements, he is modest. He does not like to talk about himself. He says only that he is from Kiev, he flew to Cuba in March of 1990, and before that, he worked as manager of the Ukrtruboprovodstroy Trust of the USSR Ministry of the Petroleum and Gas Industry. From specialists who knew him well, I heard that Sergiyenko was among the first to get into the thick of the Chernobyl cleanup. Vladimir Antonovich was immediately in charge of laying the pipeline for transporting liquid concrete to the ill-fated fourth block of the nuclear power plant. The state valued his self-sacrificing actions highly and assigned him a pension, but Sergiyenko has no intention of retiring. He came to Cuba with the firm intention of building a pipeline and releasing it for operation, and, if he can talk his Cuban partners into it, he is prepared, on a mutually advantageous basis, to lay another one—from Matanzas to Havana.

Unfortunately, I did not find the general director in his office this time. I was received by the head construction engineer Valeriy Andreyevich Obloukhov.

Valeriy Andreyevich was born in Rostov-on-Don. He graduated from the machine-building institute there and became a technologist. He worked in his native city for a long time. Obloukhov was sent to Cuba as a manager of the Rostovtruboprovodstroy Trust. When he arrived in Matanzas only the first five kilometers of the oil pipeline had been laid so the head engineer started counting with the sixth and continued until the last—the 187th.

"One might say that we have reached the finish line," Obloukhov says. "The pipe has been laid and tested. Oil pipeline workers are not familiar with the concept of long-term construction," continues the head engineer, "which makes it even more painful that here in Cuba they delayed the beginning of the project for a year. They encountered problems because of the imprecise data of the prospectors."

In our conversation with the head engineer we heard about a dozen or more other problems that were common to the entire complex of trade and economic ties between our countries. One of the most typical, in my view, is the lack of motivation on the part of Soviet enterprises to conduct trade operations with Cuba these days. A situation has developed in which it is more advantageous for the plants and factories to sell their products at a little higher price on the domestic market than to fill state orders for the remote island without receiving hard currency for it. For the Cubans are short of dollars just as we are. What should we do? Some see the solution in hard currency credit for all operations with Cuba; others see it in deepening and regulating barter commodity exchange. It seems to me that a combination of these is inevitable, and reality has already led us to this. Of course, the search for new paths will continue.

Another difficult problem is payment for the labor of Soviet specialists. In Cuba they are paid in three currencies—American dollars, national pesos, and intermediate type "A" certificates. But the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Relations has discontinued operations with Cuban pesos and certificates, which comprised a large part of the wages of the specialists. It became impossible to transfer their savings to the Soviet Union and goods are released strictly according to the norms. What are our specialists to do with their excess pesos? The question of paying the workers in dollars arose. Incidentally, the red tape in solving this problem caused social tension in a number of labor collectives in Cuba. But here on the Druzhba oil pipeline the leaders were efficient and concerned about the working person. Currency for wages was found in Moscow. Welders, installers, adjusters, and engineering and technical personnel earn and receive $500-$600 per month.

As V.A. Obloukhov said, "We are all satisfied and we are all working peacefully."

Let me add that the builders of the oil pipeline are the first large working collective of Soviet specialists in Cuba to receive wages in hard currency.

"Well, when you return to Rostov-on-Don," I asked the head engineer, "what will be your brightest memory of Cuba."

"The Cubans themselves, of course, and their surprisingly friendly attitude toward one another and their friends. Imagine, I never once saw a boorish or viciously cursing Cuban. They are a joyful and cheerful people."

There are now 120 of our specialists working on the oil pipeline. It is like a small federation. They have come to Cuba from the south of Russia, the Ukraine, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Siberia. The 36-year-old electric welder Viktor Safarov, for example, is from Armavir. "I welded the first joints of the pipeline. Now I am lucky enough to see the project through to the end. I liked Cuba, the people are friendly. But I miss home, I am lonely. Our contract does not provide for families."

His friend Aleksandr Chernikov is also a class-six welder. He is from Stavropol. At home in Neftekumsk he also has a wife and two children.

While for Viktor and Aleksandr, Cuba is their first job abroad, this is the second one for the calm and thoughtful Siberian Vladimir Doda. He worked for a year and a half in Kuwait. The contract was broken by the Iraqi aggression. It is painful for Vladimir to recall how the occupation troops stole all our technical equipment and property from the warehouses, seized documentation, and destroyed valuable material possessions.

He recalls how torturously long the trip was from Kuwait which had been seized by the Iraqis to his home town of Surgut. And then, after a short rest, V. Doda was sent to Cuba where he has been the leader of a brigade of installers for six months.

The secretary of the party organization, senior engineer Vitaliy Ivanov, is extremely restrained and laconic.

"We have 35 Communists in the collective and all of them are high-class professionals and responsible people. We are conducting political work in a new way. We have no meetings during working hours as we did before. And we do not invent occasions to hold meetings but meet only when the need arises. Nonetheless the ideological work of the party organization, the exchange of opinions, and the democratic discussions are not ceasing. But, in spite of differences in viewpoints, I think that in the large collective we will manage to preserve a spirit of benevolence and labor camaraderie."

"While working in this friendly collective," said Vitaliy Ivanov, "I became convinced that the Soviet person is not interested in wages alone. Internationalism that is not loud and showy but true and human continues to live in our people. Of course, much is changing today. We are becoming more realistic and even pragmatic, but compassion and a desire to help those in need will always live in the human soul. Such is the unwritten law of life: Help people and they will help you."

Although statistics are dry, they are convincing. Even according to modest calculations, with assistance from the Soviet Union over three decades on the island about 500 various national economic projects have been completed. The labor of the Soviet people helped the Cuban revolution survive and their active solidarity nullified the economic blockade.

Lines on the map, like on a person's palm, can tell a great deal. They are Cuba's past and present. They are the lines of her destiny.

Supreme Soviet

'Extraordinary Session' Resumes Work 29 August

LD2908080991 Moscow TASS in English 0739 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 29 TASS—The extraordinary session of the Soviet parliament, which resumed its work in the Kremlin today, is expected to discuss and adopt a resolution on the key item of the agenda—the situation following the coup.

At a previous sitting the draft resolution was approved in general. The Wednesday evening session was attended by President Gorbachev. Legislators approved his decree, thus giving a vote of non-confidence to the Soviet Cabinet of Ministers.

Session Reviewed

LD3008084191 Moscow TASS in English 0556 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 30 TASS—The special session of the Soviet parliament will continue its work today.

On August 29, it sanctioned the institution of criminal proceedings against Soviet parliamentary leader Anatoliy Lukyanov.

Soviet Prosecutor General Nikolay Trubin said the investigation of the plotters' activities "has revealed very serious evidence that chairman of the Soviet Supreme Soviet, Deputy Anatoliy Lukyanov participated in the coup along with the members of the State Emergency Committee".

Trubin resigned from the post of prosecutor general, explaining his decision by the fact that he realised "the degree of his responsibility for the unprincipled position of the leadership of the Soviet public prosecutor's office during the trying days," as well as by mistrust towards him. The parliament accepted the resignation.

The parliament, at the proposal of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, included the leaders of Soviet republics adherent to the Novo-Ogarevo process into the Soviet Security Committee.

Among them are Russia, the Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Belorussia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzia Turkmenia and Tajikistan.

Vadim Bakatin and Yevgeniy Primakov are the only members of the Security Council who have not been expelled after last week's abortive coup.

Candidatures of other members should be discussed by the Soviet president with leaders of the republics participating in the Novo-Ogarevo process.

The parliament endorsed Gorbachev's appointments of Vadim Bakatin to the post of KGB chief, Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov as Soviet defence minister and Viktor Barannikov as Soviet interior minister.

The session adopted a resolution on the situation in the country after the putsch.

The resolution suspends the activity of the CPSU all over the territory of the Soviet Union on the basis of the existing information about the participation of its leading bodies in the preparation and staging of the state coup between August 19-21. Interior Ministry bodies have been instructed to ensure that its material values and archives remain intact. Institutions and banks have been advised to stop all operations with monetary funds of the CPSU.

In addition, the USSR office of public prosecutor has been instructed to investigate reports about the participation of the leading bodies of the CPSU in actions aimed at forcible change of the constitutional system and, if proven, to refer this information to the Supreme Court of the USSR.

After the resolution was approved on the whole, parliamentarians decided not to adopt a separate resolution on the role of the leadership of the Soviet Supreme Soviet Presidium, committees, Soviet state bodies and public and political associations in the coup, since the adopted resolution contains some of the proposed points.

The adopted resolution will be supplemented at the next meeting.

Deputies also discussed items proposed for the agenda of the emergency Congress of Soviet People's Deputies to open on September 2, 1991.

Sobchak on Russia-Ukraine Talks

LD2908111691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0707 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Statement by Anatoliy Sobchak, chairman of the Leningrad City Soviet, at an extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Deputies: I want to inform you that representative delegations from Russia and the Ukraine held a working meeting yesterday on issues that have arisen recently and are of mutual interest to those republics. The Russian delegation was led by Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy, and the Ukrainian delegation by Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Chairman Leonid Kravchuk. The delegation of the Supreme Soviet, the Union parliament, included four people's deputies, two representatives of the Ukraine—People's Deputies Ryabchenko and Shcherbak—and two people's deputies from Russia—Ryzhov and me. Our participation in these talks entailed acting as observers and helping the delegations to draw up a common, joint decision in the process of the negotiations.

Yuriy Nikolayevich Shcherbak will shortly read out the communique that was signed by the participants in the meeting, but I would like to point out the main results of these talks. As a result of these discussions, the parties confirmed that the old Union no longer exists and there can be no return to it. They confirmed their mutual respect for the independence and state sovereignty of each of the republics and their loyalty to the treaty concluded between the republics last year. They also stressed the need to set up fundamentally new Union structures for the transitional period, in the shape of various types of interrepublican committees and on the basis that all Union republics and all those that used to belong to the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics should begin negotiations without delay on issues of economic cooperation, should not make unilateral decisions on matters of military strategy, and so on.

I believe that the main lesson of these talks is a correct awareness of the place of Union power structures, of the Union parliament, in situations of this type. When certain political or other misunderstandings arise in relations between republics, it is necessary to do everything and to perform the role of coordinator and arbitrator in order to prevent the misunderstanding from developing into a conflict.

I regard this as the first lesson of the talks that we held. The talks ended at around 0200, and we returned to Moscow at 0600, but they ended without any arm-twisting and without pressure. Rather, they ended with an agreement reached on an equal basis by the authorized representatives of the two republics.

The second lesson that I took away for myself, personally, is that the Ukraine, like other republics, has embarked firmly on the path of the acquisition of genuine independence and genuine freedom and the establishment of its own statehood, and no one will now force it to turn away from that path. On the contrary, the future lies only in our making joint efforts to prevent ourselves from being buried under the debris of the collapsed Union power structures, in our beginning to work out decisions and to create bodies for the transitional period that will help us to move to a new quality of relations in future.

Therefore, I ask you to give Yuriy Nikolayevich Shcherbak the opportunity to read out the communique on what was achieved as a result of this working conference.

Shcherbak Reads RSFSR-Ukraine Accord

LD2908165891 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0713 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Address by Deputy Yuriy Shcherbak at an extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet—live]

[Text] Dear Rafik Nishanovich, dear deputies: Permit me to read out two documents of great importance. First, the communique: A working meeting of state delegations of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] and the Ukraine was held in Kiev on 28-29 August. The delegations consisted of the following:

From the RSFSR: Rutskoy, vice-president of the RSFSR; Lukin, chairman of the Committee for International Affairs of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet; Stankevich, state counsellor of the RSFSR; (Shchelokovedayev), chairman of the Subcommittee for Interrepublican Relations of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet; Yavlinskiy, chairman of the Council of the Center of Economic and Political Research; Kolosovskiy, deputy RSFSR foreign minister; (?Peregorodtsev), head of the Secretariat of the RSFSR vice president; and (Avertyu), expert of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

From the Ukraine: Kravchuk, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine; Masik, first deputy prime minister of the Cabinet of Ministers of the Ukraine; Zlenko, foreign minister of the Ukraine; Dordinets, Yevtukhov, Yemets, Pavlychko, Pylypchuk, Chepurnyy, Yukhnovskyy, members of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium; Drach, chairman of Rukh; experts Vasilenko, Lukyanenko, Moroz, Filenko, and Chornovil.

Taking part in the meeting was a delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Ryzhov, Ryabchenko, Sobchak and Shcherbak, consisting of people's deputies of the USSR.

During the talks which took place in a friendly and businesslike atmosphere, the Ukrainian delegation informed the delegations of the RSFSR and the USSR Supreme Soviet about the act of declaring the independence of the Ukraine which was adopted by the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet.

As a result of the working meeting a joint communique was adopted the text of which is published. Allow me to read the communique.

As a result of the liquidation of the coup d'etat in the USSR a new political situation has arisen which opens up the opportunity to speed up democratic transformations and fully to implement the sovereign rights of the republics. Taking into consideration the fact of the resignation of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers and the incapability of the Union state structures to ensure the vital interests of the peoples, recognizing the inalienable rights of the Ukraine and the Russian Federation to state independence, confirming their adherence to the treaty between the RSFSR and the Ukraine of 19 November, 1990, the sides have agreed to the following:

1. To undertake joint actions with the aim of preventing the uncontrolled disintegation of the Union state, bearing in mind that during the transitional period, in order to support the systems providing the population's vital necessities and the functioning of the economy, it is appropriate to create temporary interstate structures with the participation of interested states which were the subjects of the previous USSR, regardless of their former status, on representative and parity bases.

2. To propose to the states which were the subjects of the former USSR, regardless of their present status, immediately to make a start on preparing and signing an economic agreement between them.

3. To confirm the particular importance of military-strategic problems, to count it essential to carry out a reform of the USSR Armed Forces and to create a collective security system, not to adopt unilateral decisions on military-strategic questions.

4. In the transitional period, to avoid steps which affect the sides' mutual interests without preliminary consultations.

5. To confirm articles 2 and 6, set out in the bilateral treaty of 19 November, 1990, on the rights of citizens and the territorial integrity of the sides.

6. To stress the resolve, together with other states which were subjects of the former Union, actively to continue the democratic transformations and to conduct a coordinated policy of radical economic reforms.

7. To confirm their adherence to the obligations of the USSR in international relations including the agreements on reducing armaments and controling them, responsibility for maintaining international peace and stability, to express readiness on the basis of talks, both with states which were subjects of the former USSR and with members of the international community, to resolve during the transitional period all the questions stemming from previously adopted international obligations.

8. Immediately to exchange plenipotentiary representatives of the RSFSR and the Ukraine to provide mutual information of the sides and the conduct of consultations.

[Signed] Rutskoy, vice-president of the RSFSR;

Kravchuk, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine.

28-29 August 1991.

In conclusion, permit me to speak, literally in a couple of words, about the role played by the delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and to thank you for the trust with that you invested in us. I would like to reject all kinds of reproaches addressed to Anatoliy Aleksandrovich Sobchak, which have been expressed in the mass information media, and to emphasize his exceptionally constructive role. In general this process has shown that the USSR Supreme Soviet can still play its part in the conduct of such talks. Thank you.

Gamsakhurdia Request for Recognition

LD2908200491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1745 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Statement by Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia; read by USSR Supreme Soviet Deputy Buachidze at the USSR Supreme Soviet extraordinary session in the Kremlin—live]

[Text] Esteemed President of the USSR! Esteemed USSR Supreme Soviet! On behalf of the Supreme Soviet of the republic of Georgia, on behalf of the whole of the people of Georgia, I put to you the suggestion that the agenda of the extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies include an item on recognizing the independence of the Republic of Georgia. The referendum held on 31 March 1991 demonstrated the unanimous will of Georgia's population to restore Georgia's state independence, proclaimed on 26 May 1918, which was recognized by Soviet Russia and the international community and was confirmed in law by the historic act of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Georgia on 9 April 1991. On behalf of the people of Georgia, I assure you of our deep commitment to developing the historically formed ties between Georgia and all peoples of the USSR.

Yours with profound respect,

Zviad Gamsakhurdia

Kazakh Message on Border Issue

LD2908221691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1747 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Statement by USSR Supreme Soviet Deputy Dzhanibekov at the USSR Supreme Soviet extraordinary session in the Kremlin—live]

[Text] Esteemed comrade chairman! Esteemed comrade people's deputies! As you know, the day before yesterday a statement by the press secretary of the president of the Russian Federation was made public, saying that in certain circumstance the Russian Federation reserves the right to territorial claims against certain contiguous republics and may raise the issue of revision of borders. This statement, in practice, disavows the repeated statements by President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin that Russia has no territorial claims against neighboring republics, Kazakhstan in particular. He spoke of this most recently in Alma-Ata on 17 August when exchanging deeds of ratification of the treaty on friendship and cooperation between our republics, signed at the end of last year. Article Six of the protocol, signed on 17 August, says: The signatories recognize and respect the territorial integrity of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic and the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic within the borders that have been formed in the context of the USSR.

According to information at hand, regardless of the additional explanations given by Comrade Yeltsin the day after this statement, dissatisfaction and public protest are growing in Kazakhstan against the above statement, which ignores the sovereign rights of neighboring peoples to their national territory and state independence. In our view, those who compiled this document have acted with extreme haste and have failed to consider its possibly explosive negative consequences. Regarding the situation that has come about in the republic, which might have unpredictable consequences, Nursultan Abishovich Nazarbayev addressed a request to Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation, for authorized representatives to be sent urgently to Kazakhstan for a comradely exchange of views on these issues and for the elaboration and signing of additional agreements that would end misinterpretations, mutual suspicion, and distrust. Clearcut answers must be provided urgently to the questions that are worrying people and cause bewilderment and bitterness and distract them from constructive activities. The group of USSR people's deputies from Kazakhstan has instructed me to ask USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and the USSR Supreme Soviet to promote an urgent meeting between representatives of our two neighboring republics and, thus, to foster consolidation and strengthening of friendship and close cooperation between our sovereign republics, something that is one of the cornerstones in the foundation of our union.

People of Kazakhstan consistently support the line of speedy conclusion of a Union treaty and the idea of creating a unified economic area over the terriory of the whole country, which are aimed at overcoming speedily the political and economic crisis and at a transition to market relations.

Along with this, I have been instructed to bring to the Supreme Soviet's attention a statement of representatives of Kazakhstan's democratic movements, signed by representatives of 21 organizations, in which they express their negative attitude to the conspirators, note the services of Russians in suppressing the putsch, and emphasize the role in this of the firm position of the leadership of a number of other Union republics. At the same time, they condemn the statement about a possible revision of borders between republics and express their extreme concern over the evident shift of leadership of union structures toward the Russian Federation. Regarding these circumstances, which destabilize the situation in the republic, these organizations submitted a proposal to convene an emergency session of the republic's Supreme Soviet.

I am handing the statement of the representatives of democratic movements of Kazakhstan to the presidium to be added to the session's papers as an official document. With that, I thank you for your attention.

Trubin on Lukyanov 'Criminal Responsibility'

LD2908141991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0937 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Statement by USSR Procurator General Nikolay Semenovich Trubin at an extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet at the Kremlin in Moscow on 29 August—live]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades Peoples Deputies: In the course of the investigation into the coup attempt, you know well that very serious evidence has been received that USSR People's Deputy Anatoliy Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, took part in the plot to seize power equally with the members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency. As the State of Emergency Committee was being set up, knowing its unconstitutional nature and its real aims, Lukyanov consented to its establishment. With the Constitution in his hands, he provided a juridical foundation for USSR Vice President Yanayev's illegal decree on assumption of the duties of the USSR president. In other words, he took part in the seizure of power.

With the aim of subsequently retaining power, Lukyanov promised the participants in the plot, the members of the State of Emergency Committee, to assist in the adoption by the USSR Supreme Soviet of a positive decision on the introduction of the state of emergency.

To justify the necessity for the creation of the State of Emergency Committee and its seizure of power, he made a statement on the unacceptability of the Union treaty, which had been prepared for signing.

Lukyanov's actions can be interpreted as an indication of the crime stipulated by Article 64 of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic criminal code. He is liable for criminal responsibility.

Since Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov is a USSR people's deputy, he can be brought to criminal account only with the agreement of the USSR Supreme Soviet. On the basis of the above, and guided by Articles 34 and 35 of the USSR law of 31 May 1990 on the status of USSR people's deputies, I ask you to consent to Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov being brought to criminal account and to consent to his arrest.

Trubin Delivers Resignation

LD2908224991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1014 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Address by USSR Procurator General Nikolay Semenovich Trubin at the USSR Supreme Soviet extraordinary session in the Kremlin—live]

[Text] The following must be acknowledged immediately: As the country learned that Yanayev took the USSR president's duties on himself, allegedly because of Gorbachev's illness; that a state of emergency was introduced; that the so-called State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE] was set up; and that the Procuracy, the Interior Ministry, the KGB, and the USSR Defense Ministry were instructed to organize effective cooperation between the law enforcement bodies and the Armed Forces to ensure maintenance of public order and the security of the state, society, and citizens, in accordance with the USSR Law on the Legal Procedures of a State of Emergency, during my absence, the USSR Procuracy leadership lacked the courage to oppose the decisions of the newly announced president and the self-styled SCSE.

My deputies discussed it and vacillated for a long time and decided to proceed on the basis of the following facts:

First, the decisions bore the signature of the vice president, who had announced that the legitimate president was ill.

Second, no statements that Yanayev's entry into office was illegal were made by the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Presidium, or the Supreme Soviet chairman.

Third, a group of USSR Constitutional Supervision Committee members—the opinion of whom was published—made a conditional statement.

Fourth, the Procuracy does not carry out checking of the legality of decrees.

This is how Comrade Vasilyev, first deputy USSR procurator general, explains telegrams that were sent to the provinces on the need to supervise observation of the USSR Constitution and laws under state of emergency conditions. This is how it turned out that the Procuracy recognized the state of emergency, but this explanation cannot in any way, of course, justify the displayed lack of principles and faint-heartedness in the juridical assessment of the decisions and actions of the conspirators. Comrade Vasilyev has been relieved of his duties as first deputy USSR procurator general. The same applies to Comrade Abramov, deputy USSR procurator general, who was responsible for ensuring supervision of the implementation of state security laws. Deputy Procurator General Katusev, chief military procurator, was relieved of his duties for displaying total indifference toward the tragic events which took place with the participation of the USSR Armed Forces and for not ensuring the proper supervision of legality of the Armed Forces. All these decisions require confirmation by the USSR Supreme Soviet, and I am now making a representation and asking for these decisions to be confirmed.

I, myself, bear great responsibility for such conduct of leadership of the USSR Procuracy. The Supreme Soviet—and Deputy Belozertsev has spoken correctly about this here—suggested that I review the composition of the collegium, but I did not do this in good time, nor did I rid the USSR Procuracy of leading officials with conservative views, and this was reflected negatively in a number of our decisions. My personal credo, in case anyone today is still interested in it, has been set out in issue No. 5 of YURIDICHESKAYA GAZETA, which came out on 19 August 1991 but which has not seen the light of day because of the events referred to, under the heading: Constitutional Order is the Task of the Whole of Society.

As for the crime committed by the group of conspirators, two criminal proceedings were instituted—one by me and the other by Comrade Stepankov, procurator general of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR]. The dates for instituting these proceedings coincide—21 August—but the investigations into them took place separately from the very beginning. One group of the conspirators was arrested by Comrade Stepankov and the other by me. Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin insisted from the very beginning on assigning the whole matter to the RSFSR Procuracy. He rang me about this on the evening of 21 August, but I could not do this since the decision of a number of professional questions relating to USSR people's deputies and to servicemen comes exclusively within the competence of the USSR procurator general. However, the detention of high-ranking officials at the airport was agreed between us on the evening of 21 August. On the next day—22 August—I met with the USSR president, ascertained the details of his isolation from the people, and immediately afterward obtained agreement from the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on removing deputies' immunity from and arresting Baklanov, Boldin, Varennikov, Shenin, and Starodubtsev, and detained them the same night, with the exception of Starodubtsev, who was not in Moscow. We also detained Plekhanov. Inquiries, searches, and seizures began, and their arrests were sanctioned on 23 August. On 24 August, Grushko, first deputy chairman of the USSR KGB, was detained.

The volume of work grew, the circle of those suspected of implication in the conspiracy widened, and the separate work of the two investigating groups aggravated the difficulties. On Sunday, therefore, I decided to unite both processes and both investigating groups and to appoint (Lysov), deputy procurator general of the Russian Federation, and Frolov, deputy head of administration of the USSR Procuracy, to head the investigation. I entrusted supervision of cases coming within the competence of the Russian Republic to RSFSR Procurator General Stepankov and those within the competence of other republics to the procurators of those republics. The decision of supervisory questions relating to the exclusive competence of the USSR procurator general remained with me. Measures are being taken to reinforce the investigating groups with investigators from other republics. The investigation is being conducted in various directions: the KGB, the Internal Affairs Ministry, the Defense Ministry, organizational leaders of the CPSU, and so on.

Dear comrade people's deputies, irrespective of my own personal fate, I appeal earnestly to you and to the media with this request: Do not press the investigations to the point of mass persecution of people. Do not revive in people the terrible habit of informing and of making superficial and narrow-minded judgments. This is very dangerous. At such a crucial time, it is important not to make a mess of things. It must not be thought that the majority of the population have been brought up in conditions of totalitarianism and hold various views about law and order and the methods of maintaining it. It would be quite deplorable if innocent people were to become the victims of repression. Calm and reason are required. I am convinced that the investigations will be conducted scrupulously in every way.

Finally, acknowledging the extent of my responsibility for the unprincipled behavior of the USSR Procuracy's leadership during the days of the country's great trials, considering the fact that the procurator general cannot work in the atmosphere of distrust being created around my name, I officially announce my resignation. Thank you.

Charges Against Lukyanov Approved

OW2908120791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1045 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Soviet national Parliament has given consent to the beginning of criminal proceedings against USSR People's Deputy, former chairman of the parliament Anatoliy Lukyanov. The decision was backed 360 MPs [members of parliament] with two voting against and 28 abstaining.

According to the USSR Procurator-General Trubin, who spoke in parliament, the behavior of Lukyanov during the coup falls under Article 64 of the Russian Criminal Code on high treason. Punishment ranges from 10-15 years of imprisonment to the death penalty.

Gorbachev Proposes New Security Council

LD2908163791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1310 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Remarks by USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev at the extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow—live]

[Text] [Gorbachev] In my report I also expressed this proposal. It coincides with your proposals. This subject arose even at the preparation stage and the point is that, taking into account the new reality, this body, in the general view of the leaders who met on 23 August as well should be constructed in a new way, should start work immediately, and should play an important role during the transitional period, should follow the agreed line.

On the whole, we are setting up a sort of constitutional body but filled with a new content, a transitional structure for a transitional period when we will come out with a new document pertaining to the organization of our Union—what sort of Union it should be and what should be the structure of its bodies. And now, however, life demands action. Therefore, I would like to emphasize this. In connection with this I propose making ex officio members of the Security Council the leaders of the nine republics who participated in the Novo-Ogarevo process. This is, in particular, what it is about.

This means the top officials and presidents, and where they do not exist, then the chairmen of supreme soviets. In the event other republics join, and proposals being submitted on this account, so to speak, then they can be examined. But even now we need to act. That is the view of everyone. Over the last few days, we have been having this discussion and that was the mood of the comrades.

And the second part: Apart from this, I propose to include in the Security Council Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev; Gavriil Kharitonovich Popov, the mayor of Moscow; Anatoliy Aleksandrovich Sobchak, the mayor of Leningrad; Yuriy Alekseyevich Ryzhov, whom you know; and Grigoriy Ivanovich Revenko, the head of the presidential apparatus. There is also the name of Shevardnadze, Eduard Amvrosiyevich. You know, when I telephoned Eduard Amvrosiyevich yesterday, we agreed to meet and discuss it. To be frank, I did not manage to meet him, and I now consider this process incomplete. Therefore, I would ask you to postpone it for the time being, as they say.

[Nishanov interjects] Very good.

[Gorbachev] You remember—rather, you won't remember—that Yanayev, Pavlov, Kryuchkov, Pugo, Yazov, and former foreign minister Bessmertnykh have been withdrawn from the Security Council. Two people were left: Bakatin and Primakov, as a matter of fact, and the chairman. Therefore, that is the proposal being put forward.

[Unidentified deputy, from the floor] Have they remained as members?

[Gorbachev] They have remained, they will remain, yes, yes. Therefore, I am not including them. This is already a new approach. That means, the first part is the leaders of the republics participating in the Novo-Ogarevo process, and the second part I have named—do I need to repeat them, or will you remember them?—oh, you have them, I'm sorry.

[Nishanov interjects] We have them. Thank you Mikhail Sergeyevich.

Gorbachev Explains Council Setup

LD2908165391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1313 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Exchange between USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev and Deputy Aleksandr Obolenskiy at the extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow—live]

[Text] [Obolenskiy] Deputy Obolenskiy. Esteemed members of the Supreme Soviet, I would ask you to look carefully at this question which at first glance is a subsidiary matter. But yesterday I requested that the names of the members of the so-called Political Council of the Democratic Reform Movement should be officially announced. Why do I say so-called? Because I do not know whether such an organization is officially registered. At the same time it was read out to us by Vladislavlev on 27 August and distributed in the evening.

This manifesto, as I would call it, includes the phrase: To fulfill these functions it is to be considered necessary to bring into the Security Council the presidents of the Union republics and to consider it the highest collegiate body for governing the country. This is a phrase which could conceal a lot. It can be interpreted in different ways, including as the appearance in the country of a new directorate or what have you, that is, as the transfer of supreme power totally to this body. Therefore, until the names of those who signed this document, this appeal, are announced, I consider that it cannot be enlarged, because it may turn out that it was signed by the same people who are members of the Security Council. Then its functions will be cardinally altered. That is a very serious aspect. I would ask you to look at this with great attention.

In any event, I would like simply to state officially that the Social Democratic Party is in no way party to this movement, so that everything that is written here should not be attributed to all the country's democrats.

[Nishanov] Thank you. I would like to give an explanation. One moment. Thank you, Mikhail Sergeyevich, that you reminded me.

[Gorbachev] I reckoned on making a short statement on this to remind you that in the first place I put forward this proposal in the report on the very first day and that we have already had discussions about this here. I felt that many comrades supported this proposal in principle because we are basing it on a constitutional form, for it is a body which exists in the Constitution.

The next point is we talking about a transitional stage on the way to where we are going, and now we need to enrich the Security Council in order to embrace the leaders and to ensure the coordination of actions at a political level. It is about this that we are speaking. And, therefore, I cannot share the opinion...well, any deputy has the right to raise a question...that it is a matter of some body which...or rather that seizure is going ahead from the other side, and that some sort of directorate is being set up. No, I think that in this case we are demonstrating a respectful attitude to the Constitution, and on the other hand we are taking account of the realities which require that we act in this way.

Because, today, well I have just been speaking...this morning the situation in Kazakhstan became a lot more complicated and a delegation of Russia has just flown there. We organized it...I have spoken with Nazarbayev three times. That is the first thing.

Second, I have just been speaking with Comrade Kravchuk. You see, it is necessary that during this transitional period until we get round to everything and agree everything together, it is necessary to ensure that during these days we do not get into a situation which we may not be able to get out of and that processes do not get under way which might snowball. This is all very serious and we must be aware of what is in question.

Gorbachev on Federation Council Approval

LD2908163191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1323 GMT 29 Aug 91

[USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev answers unidentified deputy's questions at the extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow—live]

[Text] [Unidentified deputy] Please, I have a question for Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. Comrade President, please, according to Article 127, Clause 9, it is written that members of the USSR Security Council are appointed by the USSR president, taking account of the opinion of the Federation Council. Was the Federation Council on these candidacies... do you have the agreement of all members of the Federation Council on these specific candidacies? I am not referring to the leaders of the republics.

[Nishanov] Mikhail Sergeyevich has reported.

[Gorbachev] I have told you and referred to it: It is absolutely all in accordance. There was a meeting of the leaders of the nine republics on 23 August, after my return from the Crimea. We discussed the whole situation, exchanged views and said that we must all take steps to avert the disintegration of the country and its economy, and avoid anything which would complicate this situation. In other words, it was actually a meeting of the republics which went through the Novo-Ogarevo process to the draft of the new Union treaty.

[Deputy] I know that, but were the specific candidacies discussed there individually? Did they give their agreement to them?

[Nishanov, interrupting] ...such a question. They discussed them.

[Gorbachev] Regarding the principle—one moment, I must say everything—everything regarding the principle of including the leaders and some representatives... political figures who showed their colors during this... that was decided in principle.

[Deputy] In principle.

[Gorbachev] Specifically, thus, the first part, is how to tackle it specifically, how the republic tackles it, while the second part is what I am submitting to you on the basis of that exchange.

[Deputy] I see. In other words, they—I mean the second part—were not discussed individually at the Federation Council.

[Gorbachev] That's right, they were not.

[Deputy] I believe they ought to be discussed there and the representatives' agreement obtained.

Gorbachev on Security Council Members

LD2908170591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1335 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Remarks by USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev at the extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow—live]

[Text] [Nishanov offers Gorbachev the floor]

[Gorbachev] You know, if I....[changes thought] Will you let me speak from my seat? Regarding Anatoliy Aleksandrovich Sobchak, I think the whole issue is completely clear. His stance is also clear. You are familiar with all his political and other qualities. You have it all in front of you, so to speak. I do not consider it necessary to set forward any more arguments here specially. I believe that his presence—a man who has shown political maturity, wisdom, and a well-considered position—his presence now will be useful. What is more, he is from Leningrad. Just a minute, I will tell you. Incidentally, I think he should have been here.

Next—I want to continue—regarding Yuriy Alekseyevich Ryzhov. I have seen him somewhere, he has just moved. Ryzhov, Yuriy Alekseyevich.

[Nishanov] Here he is.

[Gorbachev] He is a colleague of yours, you know him well, and I do not need to say anything more about him, either, so to speak. His position in these abruptly changing times has remained the same as it always was: Committed to the policy of transformations and so on. In other words, briefly—so can I.

As regards Gavriil Kharitonovich Popov; as regards his position, you are familiar with it. As regards his remarks, unfortunately, I did not hear them. They say that after I had my meeting with President Yeltsin, President Nazarbayev, and President Akayev—Aleksandr Nikolayevich also took part—we had that meeting; we sat down, had a discussion, and expressed a definite view on this point, concerning the need to continue the process of reaching a new treaty and to ensure that this matter is not dragged out, because it is vitally important for the country. We expressed views on such fundamental issues as unified armed forces, territorial inviolability—incidentally, the things that are recorded in the treaty that we should have started signing on the 20th. In other words, those fundamental positions were published; I also told you about them when I spoke. We had that conversation in the evening. I cannot judge fully what sort of conversation it was. Nevertheless, I would not cast any doubt because of that interview—after all, impassioned views are being expressed here now—cast any doubt on Popov's attitude and his position with regard to the processes of transformations. [sentence as heard] The Muscovites—he received the Muscovites' support recently at the mayoral election. I proceed on that basis in this regard. I must tell you on what basis I am acting, and then you will naturally discuss it.

Revenko, Grigoriy Ivanovich, you probably know well. [voices in hall] Now, just a minute. I have just withdrawn the candidacy of Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze.

Regarding the activities of Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev—I consider that Yakovlev, in dispute, and in that battle that he stood up for, on the need to continue the course of democratic changes—he maintained that line and displayed it during the days of the state coup as well as when fate, so to speak, was moving. From the first days and the first hours he got involved in this, throughout the whole country and resolutely, right to the end of all these difficult days, the voice of Yakovlev was a part of this. This further confirms that we can say what we like about Yakovlev and what we do not like; what we like about the president and what we do not; what we like about another person and what we do not; but these days have once again shown Yakovlev's principled stand both in political and human terms.

So, the only thing is I understand that the candidates should, as a minimum, be agreed as nine, on the personal level. If you consider that that should be done in just this way, and this process cannot go ahead, so to speak—I mentioned this in passing—but you see, the Federation council, because nine remain in it, and it is not...[pauses] and in essence, it is in such a state. Yes, so, yes, you examine this. I would ask that because we have now reached such a time that we need to act, and act together, then I would ask you to support this.

[Nishanov] Thank you.

[Gorbachev] I understand that we have adopted the first part. So now we are talking about the next part.

Gorbachev on Union Treaty Talks

LD2908170691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1347 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Exchange between Deputy Moshnyaga and USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev at the extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow—live]

[Text] [Moshnyaga] Mikhail Sergeyevich, if you are going to consult with the Federation Council—and the Federation Council is, so far, functioning—do you not consider expedient or possible the participation, as associated members of the Security Council, of representatives or heads—to be agreed with the republics which have not been participants in the Ogarevo process? Thank you.

[Gorbachev] I think that the question of some kind of associated members of the Federation Council is not regulated by anything other than the Constitution and I cannot, so to speak. [sentence as heard] We would then have to start changing the Constitution. But, I can guarantee, as I have always done, that during discussion at the Federation Council of the draft treaty which we were to have begun signing on the 20 August, we have always sent out invitations for all the days, for all the sittings, to all the leaders of the 15 republics. And they regularly did not come.

[Nishanov] Thank you. Comrades, I beg you, let us agree...

[Gorbachev interrupts] In other words, I can guarantee that these leaders will be invited to participate.

Security Council Endorsed

LD2908150791 Moscow TASS in English 1445 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 29 TASS—The Soviet parliament today included into the country's Security Council heads of republics: Russia, the Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Belorussia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan. These republics took part in the Novo-Ogarevo process.

Vadim Bakatin and Yevgeniy Primakov were the only former members of the council to retain their seats. Gorbachev proposed including Aleksandr Yakovlev, Moscow and Leningrad Mayors Gavriil Popov and Anatoliy Sobchak, chairman of the Soviet parliament's Committee for Science and Technologies Yuriy Ryzhov and the Soviet's president's chief of staff Grigoriy Revenko.

However, parliamentarians instructed the president to discuss these candidatures with leaders of the republics that participated in the "Nine plus One" formula.

Shaposhnikov Questioned

LD2908205491

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian at 1431 GMT on 29 August, in the course of its live relay of the proceedings at the USSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow, carries the questions posed by Supreme Soviet deputies to newly appointed Defense Minister Yevgeniy Ivanovich Shaposhnikov, and his answers. This question and answer portion of the proceedings lasted 15 minutes.

In answer to a question on the proposal to draft students into the army, Shaposhinikov's one word answer is: "negative."

Asked by Deputy Ignatovich whether Shaposhnikov would consider resigning from the army to be a civilian defense minister, Shaposhnikov replies: "Comrades, quiet. I do have a position regarding this. I do not object to this option and furthermore, I have an even more radical alternative that I reported yesterday to the president. So, that's fine, I am in favor of this option."

Shaposhnikov says he is "not acquainted with the problem," mentioned by Deputy Pilnikov, of privileges given to people in the Society for Assisting Defense and Aviation and Chemical Construction of USSR between 1927-1948, who cleared mines from enemy-occupied territory during World War II.

Pilnikov continues: "Then permit me and my colleagues to acquaint you with it in the very near future and request your assistance." Shaposhnikov replies: "At any time."

An unidentified deputy says: "It has become known that allegedly you have instructed bodies of the military press not to print any Defense Ministry documents concerning the putsch. Is this the case?"

Shaposhnikov replies: "That is not the case."

Deputy Kozin asks: "Prior to the putsch I appealed to you about the reorganization of helicopter and aviation schools within the Voluntary Service for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy [DOSAAF] system. A number of these cadets and their parents have recently appealed to me, requesting, in the light of the situation that has developed and because they link their life with the military profession of pilot, whether it be possible to return to an examination of this matter so that these people can become cadets at military schools this year."

Shaposhnikov replies: "We can return to this matter. Furthermore, we may also return to the original matter. I was visited today by comrades Kotlovtsev [DOSAAF people's deputy] and Maslov. We began consultations and we will be discussing and talking about how many of these centers we are to have."

An unidentified deputy then says: "Today the country is waiting, as they say—although I do not like this expression—is waiting for some decisions. Are you capable of adopting the decision as the newly appointed defense minister and, at the request of the republics, krays, and oblasts, sending the necessary number of personnel and equipment to save the harvest. We are being threatened with hunger and at the same time it is rotting in the field. Bring in military transport and aircraft in order to remove it all and transport it to the Union republics so that the Union republics get rid of any exaggerated pride and enable you to help us."

Shaposhnikov replies: "The armed forces are capable of solving this task. At the present time, 40,000 vehicles and 80,000 men are working in the country's fields. An additional 15,000 men have been specially allocated for Moscow. At the present time, the armed forces are solving this task successfully, but I call on the whole body of deputies, the Supreme Soviet, the whole leadership of the country, oblasts, krays, and republics. In certain oblasts a situation has arisen where there are crowded parts and deserted parts, where people are overloaded and where they are underloaded. For this reason where they are underloaded, return immediately to the center and we will transfer them to the parts that are overloaded."

An unidentified deputy asks which laws can prevent the use of the armed forces, and of weapons and equipment belonging to the Defense Ministry for all purposes apart from repulsing an external enemy.

Shaposhnikov answers: "First, the defense law; second, the military service law; third, the law on the status of the serviceman. Military regulations and the military oath must be changed immediately. I think that these laws will be sufficient.

Deputy Yakushin asks: "I would like to clarify, in a supplement to your answer, that a young man who begins service in the armed forces does not find himself in an ambiguous situation. On the one hand, the USSR Constitution must be carried out. On the other hand, we have the regulations and the oath. How do you plan to reconcile these two items?"

Shaposhnikov responds: "In these laws I envisage giving orders only in accordance with the USSR Constitution and instructions from commanders concerning external functions and economic activities. Let's put it that way. We will find a form digestible for all so that it is understood why the armed forces exist."

Deputy Safarov from Tajikistan says: "I would like to know your thoughts about the deaths of servicemen in peacetime. How will we solve this problem?"

Shaposhnikov replies: "Esteemed comrades, only yesterday, the full committee of soldiers' mothers came to see me. Today, I have given them some room and set up a working group to investigate all the incidents and crimes.

"The second problem lies in the fact that there was pressure from the top down on those commanders where real incidents took place. These commanders had to smooth out the situation in some way; they did not report the truth, and in the end we did not get those who were guilty. The exactingness toward and responsibility of each guilty person is being raised."

Deputy Shulkanov from Leningrad asks: "Yevgeniy Ivanovich, only two days ago, you and I spoke about the participation of the 23d division of the 4th army in the military activities in the Shaumyanskiy rayon. You know about this situation from Colonel Smirnov's report. You said that within the next few days the matter will be resolved and these subunits will be withdrawn from military action. How does the situation stand today? What measures have been taken?"

Shaposhnikov replies: "The situation is as follows at present. A decree by the USSR president on the Karabakh and Armenian-Azerbaijani problems has been prepared. These issues were initially being tackled with the assistance of the Defense Ministry and the deputies. Further, the Armenian side was also involved in this issue. I did not find it possible to allow these documents to go through without informing the Azerbaijani side as well. Having informed the Azerbaijani side, at present, we have reached the conclusion that no decrees or orders should be introduced until the elections in Azerbaijan. That means the forces have been withdrawn, posts have been set up. Together with the Interior Ministry and the KGB, I have sent a group there, including a group of deputies who will not permit bloodshed on the spot."

An unidentified deputy asks: "Esteemed Yevgeniy Ivanovich, the Supreme Soviet Committee for the Protection of Health, the Youth Committee, and the Committee on the Affairs of Mothers and Children have repeatedly addressed themselves to the issue of the inadequacy of medical testimonies showing fitness or unfitness for army service. We have listened to your comrades, to your administration, and we have been promised that radical measures will, so to speak, be taken and parliament will be told of this. Nevertheless, up to the present day the affair has not moved forward. Do you intend to exert influence on the relevant structures under your control to urgently resolve this issue now in the required way, in particular the issue of alternative military service?"

Shaposhnikov answers: "I agree with you, I intend and moreover, I want to publish all these documents in the press. I want it to be made known to our young men in schools what is demanded for service in the armed forces."

Deputy Sychev asks: "What future is in prospect for the political bodies? You know what I have in mind. What future prospects do the former political workers have?"

Shaposhnikov: "That is clear."

Sychev continues: "Correspondingly, the prospects for military teacher training in academies and colleges?"

Shaposhnikov answers: "The question is clear. Dear comrades, I have not only decided to eliminate the party from the army, but I put forward a proposal to the president on depoliticizing the army as well, that is to say, on eliminating the military-political bodies. But, bearing in mind that among the party workers, among the political workers, the majority are decent people. I resolved to establish—and I am also putting the proposal to the president— that the Defense Ministry not have a directorate on military training, and military training is the main type of activity for the forces during peacetime."

Continuing his answer, Shaposhnikov says: "Attached to the Defense Ministry is an inspectorate general. A main military-political directorate will be established in place of the Inspectorate General and the Main Political Directorate. It will be in charge of combat training, education of servicemen, moral and psychological upbringing, public relations, relations with the mass media, and so on. This structure will permeate everything, from the Defence Ministry to the unit. The Military Political Academy will be renamed. The political schools will be renamed and reshaped to carry out those objectives which I have outlined."

Deputy Kirillov asks: "Yevgeniy Ivanovich, please could you tell us who decided to withdraw the troops from Moscow, and when? There is a very great deal of speculation on this subject."

Shaposhnikov replies: "All right. At 1500 on 20 August I was with Defense Minister Yazov. Our conversation was one-on-one. I asked him to get the armed forces out of the situation. He asked me: How? I said: In a dignified way. What does that mean? he asked. I said: It means giving the order to withdraw the troops, to disband, dissolve and outlaw the committee, to transfer authority to the Supreme Soviet, to invite the country's president here, and to put an end to the whole business. At that point several other people joined us. He said: Make sure the Air Force is alert and ready for combat, and I departed. But the collegium was summoned for the following morning. During the night, (?after a bit of sleep), I consulted a few other people. At 0800 in the morning, the the Defense Ministry Collegium convened. At the collegium everybody agreed unanimously with my initiative. The defence minister agreed with the view of the collegium. But the order was passed on very late. I don't know why." [indistinct shout from the floor]

Deputy Borovik of the Soviet Peace Committee asks: "Yevgeniy Ivanovich, you know and we all know about the complicated situation around the Semipalatinsk test-site and the question of conducting an additional three, I think, explosions there."

Shaposhnikov answers: "These three additional explosions will not be carried out. We are going to inform the U.S. side."

Borovik continues: "The second part of the question is no less complicated: the prospects for switching the test-site to Novaya Zemlya. What are the prospects for solving this question? Is it possible to proclaim a new moratorium? Why don't we proclaim a moratorium? After all, we have been silent for almost a year. In other words, we have not been carrying out tests."

Shaposhnikov replies: "The situation here is as follows. We cannot totally give up testing. We will probably have to submit the question of where this is done to the Security Council, to the Supreme Soviet, or to the Presidium, and so on. So, I cannot say that we won't carry out any tests at all, but as to where we are going to carry out the tests I shall state this later.

Deputy Petrushenko asks: "An appeal from the officers and men of the Vitebsk Airborne Division was circulated to USSR people's deputies yesterday. In it they demanded that the truth be told about the actions of this division. I have a question about this. Are you familiar with evidence gathered during the administrative investigation into the death of three civilians during the tragic events? If so, can you summarize it in brief. Second, as a result of being insulted on the street by a crowd of Muscovites Marshal of ther Soviet Union Akhromeyev, who was one of our people's deputies, committed suicide. His funeral was held today. Did you, personally, pay a final farewell to this meritorius Marshal?"

Shaposhnikov says: "That is a matter for each individual."

Petrushenko asks Shaposhnikov to answer the first part of the question.

Shaposhnikov replies: "With regard to the first part of the question, there is no need to make the situation worse. None of the servicemen who were brought in to carry out orders, so to speak, will be prosecuted. It is the organizers who will be prosecuted. The question of the 103d Airborne Division, and in another context, the killings, this is being investigated. I cannot give you any information about it now because the investigation has not been completed."

At this time, Nishanov, who was chairing the session, calls a vote on Shaposhnikov's appointment as USSR defense minister. The vote is taken: 380 in favor, 3 against, and 4 abstentions.

Bakatin Speaks on KGB

LD2908192491

[Editorial Report] Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian at 1408 GMT on 29 August, during its live coverage of the USSR Supreme Soviet extraordinary session in the Kremlin, carries a 22-minute exchange between KGB Chairman Vadim Viktorovich Bakatin and USSR Supreme Soviet deputies.

Deputy Belozertsev begins by asking Bakatin about moves to preserve the KGB archives and rumors that the archives are being destroyed, to which Bakatin replies: "Hello. Let me begin by answering that question: The chairman has issued instructions on freezing all archives and on prohibiting any movement of archive material."

Deputy Bimbayev then asks Bakatin what he sees as the function of the KGB's work, considering the republics' independence and the approaching federation, to which Bakatin replies: "I think the functions are secondary. All in all, the union's Committee for State Security can only determine its functions with a sufficient degree of accuracy after we have determined what we are—a confederation, a federation, a commonwealth, a Union, or something else. This is rather a premature question for me. To reason here on this issue, about how I see it, I think would simply be to distract you and waste time, of which you have so little."

An unidentified deputy then asks Bakatin about the possibility of a Russian empire arising, to which Bakatin says: "I can simply say no. That is my reply to this question. I do not believe that some new kind of empire, a Russian empire, is emerging. I think that, by virtue of the circumstances in which it found itself, Russia, the Russian leadership, the Russian president and the Russian parliament which remained face to face with the organizers of the putsch, which was, strictly speaking, aimed mainly against Russia, they were simply compelled to act vigorously. They are not to blame for the fact that the Union structures lagged somewhat behind. Moreover, I think that even the Union structures are not to blame. You will sort this out better by yourselves."

Deputy Pavlov then asks whether the law on the KGB should be formally suspended, indicating that his question may be for Gorbachev. Bakatin replies: "I cannot answer for the president, but I can tell you a bit about the situation in which we find ourselves. I do not want to talk about this law now. I agree that it should be suspended. I would agree right now, but this law has already effectively been suspended. Why? Because, in this instance, I am breaking the law, because I am proposing to the president that this structure be broken up. In particular, the KGB's special purpose troops no longer come under the KGB. They have been transferred, even though the law says they are still the KGB's responsibility. The presidential guard no longer comes under the KGB. It has been transferred to the president, even though, under the law, this is the responsibility of the USSR KGB. Government communications, enciphering and deciphering, which account for roughly a quarter of the finance expended on the KGB, as a whole, no longer come under the USSR KGB. A State Committee for Government Communications has been set up; in other words, for all intents and purposes, this law is collapsing. Of course, from a basic legal point of view, it really should be suspended, and somebody should be asked to draft a new law. Various drafts of this law, a new law, are already being worked on. There are many variants, and I will not discuss this subject now. I don't know; it should be temporarily suspended. I have nothing against that. Unfortunately, everything is temporary at the moment. May God let us live to see the day when something becomes permanent."

Deputy Kirillov asks Bakatin what "freezing the KGB archives" means, pointing out that reports from Voronezh indicate that the KGB archives and the KGB directorate for Voronezh Oblast have not been sealed. Bakatin replies: "Maybe I did use such an expression, not a very clear one. One must take the documents and read them. I merely prohibited the movement of archives, any kind of addition to the archives, or removals from the archives. In other words, they must be frozen in the state they were in at the moment of that order."

At 1412 GMT, Deputy Kirillov asks if indeed the KGB archives must be sealed, to which Bakatin replies: "Yes, in effect. Sealing must be carried out. If you're asking me whether I guarantee that they are sealed everywhere throughout the country, I will, of course, say no, but I do want to say one thing. The fear that any movement of the archives may lead to the loss of information connected with the putsch is erroneous information, because everything, all the documentation that is connected with the putsch, is not yet in the archives. It is on desks; it is in safes; it is in pockets, as it were, and in all sorts of places. Documentation gets into the archives in accordance with an established procedure after one year has elapsed, and so on. In principle, the archives must be frozen, but I am against that. I have already spoken once. I want to speak once again. There is a decree by the president of Russia. There are decrees by other presidents. Yesterday, I spent an hour talking to Landsbergis on the subject. I want to say one thing in advance, and I ask you to support me. I have no objection to handing over, in general, all the KGB archives that concern history, in general, and all those unpleasant incidents connnected with repressions, and the struggle against dissidents, and so on and so forth.

"However, I will object categorically, right up to the point of resignation from this post, if access is demanded to the archives connected with secret agents; categorically. I am saying that in advance to everyone. Whether you confirm me in the post or not is your business. The agents are, in fact, not guilty; nor are the so-called informers, when we lived in a society of total shadowing, and everything, the whole system, from the pioneer bodies onward, forced people to, as it were, perform their duty honorably. If today we are going to recall who said what to whom when and where, that is impermissible. So, that part of the archives we will never hand to anyone. We would rather destroy them, but I should not like any attempts to be made now—and there have been some already—to destroy these archives. That is also, as it were, why a great deal can be destroyed. No passions must be inflamed over this subject. That is what I should like to say, making use of the rostrum, perhaps in a somewhat emotional way."

Deputy Koregin then asks Bakatin about using the powerful investigative apparatus in the KGB organs to create an independent investigative apparatus in the USSR, which he says is a path chosen by many countries, citing the FBI as an example. Bakatin asks Koregin just how powerful the apparatus is, to which the deputy replies: "Well, we can judge from the results of its actions."

Bakatin continues: "How powerful is it? I don't think there are any results, if we are to put it in those terms, if we are to judge by results. It is a very small apparatus, and I am not changing the opinion I expressed when I was internal affairs minister. I do not think it possible to create yet another office here in the center. I am opposed to setting up this investigative committee. This is my opinion, and it remains the same, but it is your right to decide. If you decide, then I will be obliged to submit."

At 1416 GMT, Deputy Gninenko says that he has no objection to Bakatin's candidacy but draws deputies' attention to the fact that they acknowledged that the former structures were incorrect. Gninenko says he thinks deputies are concentrating excessive power in the hands of one person, reminds deputies of the consequences of past instances when this has happened, and calls for a more precise definition of the powers that come with the appointment.

The following exchange between USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev and deputies follows: "[Gorbachev] Excuse me, but I would like to explain the position. You have evidently forgotten what I said when confirming Comrade Bakatin—the first point—and asking the Supreme Soviet—the second point—to put forward immediately the proposal to reorganize this system. Moreover, it is under way. Relying on your support when I said that the law on the KGB should be suspended, that was it. Finally, the third point: I confirmed a special commission to review all these complex questions, including the reorganization proposals. Comrade Bakatin, the comrades from Russia, the comrades from the Union, from the president's apparatus have worked on this commission, headed, I think, by Procurator...

"[Unidentified deputy, interrupting] Stepashin.

"[Gorbachev] Of Russia?

"[Unidentified deputy] Yes.

"[Gorbachev] By the Russian procurator. This commission was confirmed...

"[Unidentified deputy, interrupting] He is not the procurator.

"[Gorbachev] This idea—I do not recall the chairman's name.

"[Unidentified deputy] I said Stepashin.

"[Gorbachev] Ah, Stepashin. This is what I would say now. Comrade Bakatin said that there are things we should understand right away, and as the saying goes, leave them to the responsibility of people we trust and can confirm. They will carry out our will; I mean the border troops. This structure—just now, Comrade Bakatin proposed to change their subordination. It is necessary to give thought to where and how, to whom they should be resubordinated, either to the Defense Ministry or...

"[Unidentified deputy, interrupting] No, not to the Ministry.

"[Gorbachev] Comrade Bakatin proposed that they be made subordinate to the president.

"[Unidentified deputy] Please, to the Supreme Soviet. They should be an autonomous arm of the forces.

"[Gorbachev] No, but the point is that all of this will be decided, the border troops. By the way, I have a special account to settle with them because they did everything, although they may know nothing—bear this in mind—the rank and file soldiers. They may know nothing. They kept guard and ensured security. Yes, it's not about this. Second, the intelligence service: Are we now going to open all the intelligence service archives? This is, on the whole, you know, if we cause such disorder...[changes thought] By the way, when a question is asked in the United States about the intelligence service, there is one answer there: No comment. That is, there are structures—counterespionage—there are structures that every state has to defend security. We cannot just—you understand—that is, we must do everything responsibly and legally. We have set off on this path, and I confirm that information that Vadim Viktorovich has given you, only he did not say that we have also removed from KGB subordination the whole bodyguard directorate, the whole bodyguard service. That is how it is."

At 1420 GMT, Deputy Martirosyan, in pointing out Bakatin's recent order on paying KGB salaries, asks Bakatin where the money for the salaries will come from. Martirsoyan then asks whether bugging has been stopped. Bakatin replies: "On paying two months' salary for all KGB staff: I think it can be made clear. There is a document of about 15 August. Comrade Kryuchkov made a proposal to the Council of Ministers chairman—excuse me, the Cabinet of Ministers chairman—Comrade Pavlov on this matter. Comrade Pavlov wrote: Agreed. Everyone was informed that, in September-October, officers will receive an additional two-month money allowance—August-September, sorry. I said September-October; let's not argue. I have information; this is not important in the end.

"Where the money will come from? This would probably have been decided by the committee chairman, because today the KGB has no money for the fourth quarter. I can say this. The financial situation is simply catastrophic and this money cannot be paid. As for whether the bugging of deputies has ended, I know nothing about this, whether such bugging took place. I replaced-...[changes thought] I ask anyone who knows, give me the information and this will probably be better than pouring out emotions on this account. I can say I have replaced the leadership, the head—regardless of him denying it categorically—I spoke with him personally. I put in there, I consider, a person—maybe this will calm you somewhat—a very, in my opinion—a woman general who worked in personnel. She has now, I think, she was given a single task: to see that the activities of the existing system do not go beyond the sublegislative acts. We have no law on conducting operative investigation activities, as you know. We have antiquated sublegislative documents, confirmed in their time by the old Council of Ministers, which allow the KGB to conduct these special measures in relation to certain types of crime with the tinge of treason, espionage, major hard currency crimes, and so on. She was told that these activities must contract, and now they are contracting. This is what I can say.

"Apart from this, the inspectorate directorate of the USSR KGB has been instructed to conduct a painstaking investigation into the activities of this subunit. I was literally on my way here when I was informed that some new circumstances have been discovered in connection with your question, that it seems that there is evidence that bugging went on, but I can only say it seems and nothing else, because, well, I repeat: I cannot talk about it without having any documents. I do not deny that it could have happened, but I do not possess such documents."

At 1424 GMT, Deputy Biryukov, dwelling on the bugging issue, asks Bakatin about a "dossier of deputies" article that has been circulated at the Supreme Soviet and whether it is legal. Bakatin says he knows nothing of the article but indicates that he will review it.

Deputy Chernichenko then rises to recall a statement by Yegor Yakovlev, chairman of the Union television committee, that he will demand that state television be free of state security employees and to note that secret political police have been working within the Union of Writers since 1934. Chernichenko asks Bakatin if those who belong to the creative unions can be freed from additional atypical writing and composition functions and if the state security committee's attention has been drawn to the putsch's ideological guarantees from the side of creative unions. Bakatin replies: "As for the second question, I ought to tell you that I have no knowledge of this, and my attention has not been drawn to this yet—that is, about the second part. As for recalling so-called acting reserve officers from those structures where they are not welcome, this will be done immediately, as in Gosteleradio's case. I only want to say that, of course, it is not one-third. It may even be—well, this is not the core of the matter. It is literally a couple of people."

At 1427 GMT, Bakatin reads the following question, submitted in writing by an unidentified deputy: "Can you read the list of agents who are people's deputies of the USSR and of Union republics? No, I can't. [Bakatin, deputies laugh] Do you consider it normal for them to belong to these bodies of state power? If there are any agents—and it was the deputies who vested them with the responsibility of being people's deputies—this is, no doubt, a question for the deputies, for them. But, I consider this an abnormal situation."

Bakatin then reads the following statement, submitted in writing by an unidentified deputy: "You submitted a proposal on an investigative committee. Now you are against it."

Bakatin replies: "These things do have to be sorted out, I must say. Yes, in PRAVDA—in one of my first interviews, in 1989—I said that, if the proposal then being made was accepted, we would be better off with an investigative committee. That phrase has now been seized on as evidence that I had made that proposal. PRAVDA was the only place I ever made that proposal. I never repeated it. Once I had looked into the question more deeply, I developed a more detailed view on the matter. That question was signed by Deputy Belozertsev."

At 1430 GMT, the exchange between Bakatin and the Supreme Soviet deputies ends. Deputies then vote on and approve Bakatin as KGB chairman, with 366 deputies for, 9 against, and 12 abstentions.

Presidential Appointments Approved

OW2908204191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1845 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At its evening session on Thursday, the USSR Supreme Soviet discussed the structure and composition of the USSR Security Council and agreed to President Gorbachev's suggestion that the council should include, besides the president himself, representatives of the 9 "Novo-Ogarevo" republics and Vadim Bakatin and Yevgeny Primakov, two members of the council's former composition. Deputies declined to approve new candidacies nominated by Mikhail Gorbachev, among them those of the Leningrad Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak, the Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov, and the MPs Aleksandr Yakovlev, Yuriy Ryzhov and Grigory Revenko. The president is expected to coordinate these candidacies with the republican leaders first.

The parliamentary session approved without debates the appointment by President Gorbachev of Viktor Barannikov to the post of Interior Minister, and of Vadim Bakatin and Yevgeny Shaposhnikov to the leading posts in the KGB and the Defense Ministry correspondingly.

In reply to deputies' questions Mr. Bakatin said, among other things, that he had ordered a "freeze" on the KGB archives.

Marshal Shaposhnikov said he would not object to the Defense Ministry being entrusted to a civilian person, in which case he would be ready to resign. Asked who and when had ordered the withdrawal of troops from Moscow, the marshal said he had visited Yazov on the afternoon of August 20 to urge him to withdraw the troops, declare the State of Emergency Committee unlawful, and ensure President Gorbachev's return to the capital. At 8 a.m. on August 21 the Defense Ministry Collegium had ordered the troop withdrawal, and it is still a question for Shaposhnikov why the order failed to reach the army units instantly.

According to the marshal, the United States will be informed that the three scheduled nuclear tests will not be carried out at Semipalatinsk. He said, however, that it is too early to speak of a full ban on them: the Americans will be notified about the place where the tests will be held later.

The parliamentary session passed a resolution suspending the activity of the CPSU and instructing the USSR Procurator's Office to investigate the role of the communist party leadership in the acts of violence aimed at overthrowing the existing state system. If sufficient evidence is collected to support the charges, the USSR Supreme Court may rule to ban the communist party.

Falin on CPSU Secretariat

LD2908122591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0729 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Statement by Valentin Falin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at an extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed Colleagues: At yesterday's session of the commission drawing up this draft on the coup, I voiced the opinion that it is the most important of the resolutions to be adopted by the Supreme Soviet session and that it must contain no inaccuracies or unproven assertions. By way of specific example, I pointed to the wording in the preamble where it says: The setting up of the State Committee for the State of Emergency and the introduction of a state of emergency in individual areas of the USSR had the active backing of the Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee. As a member of the Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee, I have not only the grounds but also the duty to say that this conspiracy was plotted in the greatest secrecy and kept from the Secretariat and other elective leading bodies of the party. Of the Secretariat, where the Secretariat is concerned, only one man was involved in any of these measures—Shenin. As for how that ill-fated resolution was adopted, that decision or whatever you want to call it, or more precisely the telegrams that were sent around, it was like this: I was on holiday—this is not the time to justify oneself, but may I ask you just to listen to me for a moment— it was my neighbour who told me what had happened. A car was sent for me from Moscow to take me to the Secretariat, but we got held up by the column of tanks, and I arrived as the Secretariat was finishing its work, at 1100 or 1040 hours. The telegram was dispatched at 1030, as we know. The following were not at the Secretariat at all : Ivashko—he's sick; Semenova—she was away; Gurenko, er, Girenko was brought from hospital five minutes after I got there. When I asked what had happened, how it had come about and what was up with Mikhail Sergeyevich, nothing was said. Do you not ask questions to which you will receive no answers? [shouting from hall]

If one talks, as people are doing here, about the active role of the Secretariat in these conditions, then this would be incorrect and unjust, it seems to me. If I had been allowed to speak, as I requested in writing to do, in the debates on the third point on the agenda, I could have given more detailed justification; but in the circumstances, I draw your attention to the fact that this resolution must be scrupulously accurate, because otherwise we shall be accusing millions of honest people, thousands of honest people, of something they did not do.

The Secretariat bears responsibility for preventing this conspiracy, that is true. The Secretariat bears responsibility for the fact that the party found itself outside those state, economic, political, and other processes of many kinds that had taken place, that is indeed the case.

Finally, there is another aspect which I would also beg you to take into account. At that time, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was also a member of the Secretariat. Does that really make him involved in it as well? [shouting from hall]

Tatarchuk Disagrees With Falin

LD2908155291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0733 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Statement by Valentin Tatarchuk, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet commission drafting a resolution on the coup, at an extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow—live]

[Text] I would like to say the following on this matter. I can quite understand Comrade Falin, but then I would have even more difficulty understanding—no, in fact, I would understand even better many members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, who would have the moral right to speak today at this rostrum, members who not only did not back the events, but who insisted upon convening the presidium without delay and deciding that this was a putsch. And furthermore, Presidium member Kalmykov convened people and qualified it as a putsch, and called for this committee, the committee for legality and law and order, to be removed from the jurisdiction of the Presidium. You understand: the Secretariat is the leading body, just as we describe the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, just as we describe the Supreme Soviet and others, of course. It is the leading body of the party. And all the more so if you had a meeting, as you say: so, was it only Shenin? But you omitted to mention Prokofyev, whom one cannot discount as a participant, and as one who actively promoted the putsch, as has been corroborated. I don't know who else there was, I don't want to say. So there was only Shenin left in the Secretariat, he was the one who decided all the issues. And after that, on 19 or 20 August the Secretariat failed to make any statement whatsoever to the effect that it did not hold with Shenin's complicity, that it distanced itself from Shenin, you understand. It could have made just the simplest of statements to the press, to radio or television, to foreign correspondents, in the final analysis! There were great opportunities for that! And when we say that the Secretariat was involved here, and it was indeed involved in the affair, and to a considerably greater degree, too, than the presidium of the Supreme Soviet, because it was after all this that communists received telegrams, [corrects himself] the party territorial bodies in the localities received telegrams ordering active support for the introduction of the state of emergency and the other measures which were notified by this, this band of eight. And so I just cannot agree with this testimony. In that event, we cannot blame any bodies at all, you understand. And anyway, why in that case was the president's decree issued—all the more so in that he is the party General Secretary. [shouts in hall] His heart probably aches for the party, too, and probably no less than mine, as a communist, and yours and others. But one must nevertheless see the objective side of these matters, and not think we are being unobjective here. That's all I have to say.

Dzasokhov, Sobchak on Secretariat

LD2908121591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0742 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Statements by Aleksandr Dzasokhov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and Anatoliy Sobchak, chairman of the Leningrad city Soviet, at an extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow—live]

[Text] I would like to address the chairman of the Drafting Commission and tell him that after the text of the draft resolution was distributed yesterday, the Central Committee secretaries present got together and prepared a statement that should have been read out by Central Committee Secretary Falin. I ask the Supreme Soviet to give him such an opportunity. Moreover, I am also ready to deliver a report, as done by representatives of the Council of Ministers yesterday.

With all responsibility before the Supreme Soviet and the Soviet people, I confirm that the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat, excluding Shenin and possibly one more person, knew nothing about the setting up of this State Committee for the State of Emergency and about the plot that was evidently being prepared. Recollect comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet, when we were dealing with Afghanistan, I was the chairman. Arbatov and I opened the archives up. There have been four people. Yes, we have made mistakes. Me, and I hope my colleagues, are ready to take responsibility for them. But I am ready to explain every question. I flew back from Donbass on the night of the 18th. I found this all out just like any other common Soviet citizen. I have had meetings—I can explain. But the only thing I ask for is to be given an opportunity , together with the commission, because the setting up is simply murderous, the setting up—it is simply impossible. Simply impossible.

[Nishanov] Good, the same microphone, over to comrade Sobchak.

[Sobchak] Esteemed Comrades Deputies: I come out against granting such a rostrum for statements of this kind, because the investigation is underway. Criminal proceedings have been instituted. Let the Central Committee Secretariat submit to investigators that shorthand report on sittings held in the Central Committee Secretariat on this issue. Let Comrade Dzasokhov submit his explanations to investigators and not to the Supreme Soviet.

Resolution To Probe CPSU

LD2908195991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1530 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Statement by USSR Supreme Soviet Deputy Tatarchuk on resolution ordering USSR Procuracy to investigate CPSU involvement in the 19 August USSR coup at the USSR Supreme Soviet extraordinary session in the Kremlin—live]

[Text] Esteemed comrades! We stopped at Paragraph 7 of the resolution. Considering what was said here on this paragraph, the commission has considered all proposals that were received, all remarks, and any opinions regarding this paragraph very carefully. I want to report once more that this paragraph was made up in accordance with the law on public associations, which operates in strict accordance with this law and without any deviations from it. Once more, it has been checked by our and independent juridical bodies to confirm its competence, but proceeding from what has been said here, the commission came to the conclusion that it is possible, to a certain degree, proceeding from Article 22 to Article 3, to soften the word that arouses a particular objection to some extent. Part 2 of Paragraph 7 will then sound as follows:

In accordance with Part 2 of Article 3 of the USSR Law on Public Associations, to instruct the USSR Procuracy to carry out an investigation of the facts of the participation of the CPSU leading bodies in the actions on the forcible change of the constitutional order and, if these are proved, to hand the materials over to the USSR Supreme Court to resolve the question of stopping the activities of the CPSU in accordance with the USSR Law on Public Associations. [Deputies vote on and pass the new wording, with 283 for, 29 against, and 52 abstentions.]

CPSU Activities Suspended

LD2908180891 Moscow TASS in English 1803 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 29 TASS—The USSR Supreme Soviet today decided "to suspend the activity of the CPSU all over the territory of the Soviet Union" on the basis of the existing information about the participation of its leading bodies in the preparation and staging of the state coup of August 19-21. Organs of the Interior Ministry are instructed to ensure that its material values and archives remain intact. Institutions and banks are advised to stop all operations with monetary funds of the CPSU.

In addition, the USSR Office of Public Prosecutor is instructed to investigate reports about the participation of the leading bodies of the CPSU in actions aimed at forcible change of the constitutional system and, if proven, to refer this information to the Supreme Court of the USSR.

As many as 283 deputies voted in favour of this wording of the clause of the decree, with 29 being against and 52 abstentions.

The draft of this clause contains the specification that materials are being referred to the Supreme Court to decide on the termination of the CPSU activity in accordance with the law of the USSR on public associations. But as a result of the debate, a majority vote adopted an amendment made by historian Roy Medvedev which deleted these words.

Democratic Reform Movement Calls For Unity

LD2808213591 Moscow TASS in English 2116 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 29 TASS—The Political Council of the Movement for Democratic Reforms on Thursday sent an appeal to the emergency session of the Soviet parliament and leaders of the Soviet republics. The appeal says one of the most dangerous results of the coup is that it thwarted the signing of a Union treaty, accelerating the disintegration of the Soviet Union into 15 independent states, which is fraught with an economic catastrophe.

Welcoming the republics' drive for independence, the appeal warns there won't be a winner if the disintegration continues. A new political and economic situation in the country may start either the country's rebirth or an economic disaster.

The appeal calls for the immediate signing of a treaty introducing transition-period management in the country to settle all issues connected with the declaration of independence by the republics participating in the treaty, stabilise the economy, ensure the country's security and fulfil the Soviet Union's international economic and political obligations. The treaty should be ratified by the national legislature.

The appeal envisages setting up inter-republican bodies to settle territorial, property and other mutual claims of republics, to exercise control over the bodies responsible for the country's security and fulfil its international commitments.

The treaty will stipulate pursuing a coordinated credit-financial and monetary policy, forging mutually beneficial trade and economic relations between republics and coordinating the operation of crucial sectors.

The appeal proposes making the USSR Security Council, which should include the presidents of the Union republics, the country's supreme collective management body. The Security Council will supervise all executive councils, which should be formed as soon as possible. These inter-branch committees will coordinate the economic, defence, security, foreign, finance, tax, human rights and other policies.

To implement this programme, the Political Council requested the parliament to put on the agenda of an extraordinary Congress of the USSR People's Deputies, which opens on September 2, the issue of amendments and additions to the USSR Constitution concerning the administration of the country in the transition period.

Television Carries 28 August Proceedings

LD2808072191

Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian at 0700 GMT begins carrying a live relay of the extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow..

The 28 August USSR Supreme Soviet session opens with Laptev, chairing the session, asking the deputies to be seated. He reminds deputies that this is an extraordinary session and specific items are on the agenda. He calls for all deputies standing at microphones to sit down for registration.

At 0704 GMT, the deputies register. There are 479 present. Laptev again asks deputies to sit. He then gives the floor to the Secretariat.

The Secretariat representative proposes the agenda for today. Speakers who failed to speak yesterday will be given the floor; written proposals can also be accepted. Following this, registration to speak on the second item on the session's agenda will begin. The Secretariat representative then notes the large number of telegrams received by the Secretariat protesting the role of Lukyanov, the leniency shown by Supreme Soviet, and extolling the role of Gorbachev. Others accuse Gorbachev and Yeltsin of bringing the economy to collapse. She then quotes from other telegrams on various issues. She says those who wish to read the telegrams can apply to Secretariat.

At 0711 GMT, Laptev announces that the commission investigating the coup events is to meet today at 1200.

Laptev then asks deputies not to voice views on the decision before them. All proposals should be handed in, he says.

Nazarenko says the session should stop talking and move onto debate of the decision and the agenda. The group to prepare for the congress should begin working, he adds.

Laptev notes that the group has already begun work. Laptev says the decision is the most important item on the agenda and wants work on it to be constructive.

Deputy Tatarchuk confirms that work on the decision should be done now.

Laptev asks whether the draft could be voted for in principle. There are several loud shouts of "no."

At 0722 GMT, various deputies ask questions and make suggestions from the floor. A deputy notes the recognition by the Russian Supreme Soviet of Baltic states and asks why this has not been reflected in the document. Tatarchuk says this is for the Congress to do, not the Supreme Soviet. Roy Medvedev asks whether the Supreme Court and Justice Ministry were consulted when they were instructed to ban the Communist Party. Tatarchuk says the two bodies have been instructed to open a case regarding the Communist Party.

Deputy Shekhovtsov says there should not be a debate as there are dreadful clauses which should be scrapped, such as that regarding the objective investigation of the coup events by the Procuracy. It is the duty of the Procuracy to be objective, he says.

Chernyak asks whether the decision will include clauses regarding the prevention of such a coup in the future. Another deputy questions the blanket blaming of all members of the Supreme Soviet. Tatarchuk reiterates the guilt of the Supreme Soviet.

Babchenko asks about changes to the Constitution and Tatarchuk says only the Congress can do this.

Shundeyev calls for changes to the decision. Laptev calls for his microphone to be switched off. He then reads notes calling for proposals to be handed in and for an end to wasteful arguments.

At 0737 GMT, Sobchak says that he regards what is taking place is an attempt to upset the extraordinary session and is aimed at preventing the Supreme Soviet from stabilizing the situation. He believes the decision should be left until the Congress and that the Supreme Soviet should move on to the second item on the agenda. He calls for the immediate setting up of a commission to be sent for talks with the Ukraine.

A female deputy calls for the standing order to strictly kept to.

At 0741 GMT, Laptev says that only questions should be given. This is not the time for political statements, he adds. Laptev calls for questions to be ended. A vote on this is taken and his proposal is passed.

Laptev says written proposals should be handed to the commission. Laptev asks for a vote on adopting the decision in principle and then embarking on an article-by-article debate. The vote is 364 for, 41 against, with 39 abstentions; the decision is adopted in principle.

Tatarchuk invites deputies to hand in proposals to the commission.

At 0749 GMT, Kuptsov, a member of the Central Committee Secretariat, reads a statement from the Central Committee denying complicity in the coup attempt. The party took no part in organizing it, he adds. Kuptsov stresses that the party is strictly guided by the Constitution. He protests the mental and physical terror now being carried out against the Communist Party.

Filippov then notes he asked to be relieved of his duties as deputy in July and asks for his request to be granted.

At 0754 GMT an unidentified deputy stresses that we must hear what Lukyanov has to say. Another deputy says he does not like the way Laptev is conducting the session. The deputy reiterates the importance of acting sensibly. Practical matters must be dealt with otherwise the economy will run away. We seem to be paralyzed.

An unidentified deputy then reiterates the need for a decision to ensure that such events cannot be repeated. The deputy reminds the session that those accused of taking part in the coup are now under investigation and we should therefore not hear them here.

Laptev says that Lukyanov is here and can be invited to speak. Zolotukhin doubts whether all the items on the agenda can debated before the Congress. Listening to people like Lukyanov will take too much time, he says. We should deal with urgent matters to prevent the collapse of Union.

At 0803 GMT Umalatova says that the republics have left because they have seen the Supreme Soviet carrying out interrogations. Her microphone is switched off.

Kalmykov expresses concern about the undignified nature of proceedings so far. We must not allow such chaos to prevail here in Parliament. Let us debate the role of the Supreme Soviet until dinner and adopt a decision. After dinner let us get down to work. We have thanked the Russian Supreme Soviet, now let us move ahead, he says.

At 0807 GMT Laptev calls on Lukyanov to speak.

At 0808 GMT Lukyanov speaks. [See the Supreme Soviet Section of the 29 August Soviet Unioon DAILY REPORT for the text of Lukyanov's speech.]

Laptev interrupts Lukyanov to announce the following:

"We have just contacted the USSR president and the leadership of the Russian Federation and of the Ukraine, and we have this proposal to make: To send—the aircraft is already waiting—to urgently send a delegation of the Supreme Soviet to Kiev, consisting of comrades Ryzhov, Sobchak, Ryabchenko, and Shcherbak—people's deputies; I will not give their patronymics, you know them—in order to discuss, together with representatives of the RSFSR, and with the leadership of the Ukraine, issues concerning the political situation that has arisen to date." The parliament votes in favor of this. Laptev thanks the comrades and says that the delegation has already left to fly to the Ukraine.

A deputy asks why were the named deputies were chosen. Laptev says that the proposal for this delegation to leave was put by Sobchak and the other deputies.

At 0821 GMT Lukyanov returns to his explanations. When Lukyanov ends his speech no applause follows.

At 0832 GMT Laptev apologizes for interrupting Lukyanov owing to the urgency of the Ukrainian matter. Laptev says that the situation regarding the Ukraine is calm. The delegation has left to put the position of the Soviet Parliament.

At 0833 GMT Nishanov takes the floor to give an explanation. He says: "Esteemed comrade deputies. Nothing has happened in the Ukraine. The normal activity of all political, state, and economic bodies continues, but the common tension existing throughout the country naturally exists there too. A delegation has left for the Ukraine with regard to the fact that yesterday and the day before yesterday some speeches were made about statements by the leadership of Russia and the leadership of the Ukraine about some issues of state organization, territorial questions, and so on.

"The task of the delegation is mainly to find points of agreement and not to allow things to get into some sort of conflict situation. The leadership of the Ukraine knows of the departure of the delegation and welcomes it, and now the Ukraine Supreme Soviet Presidium, under the leadership of comrade Kravchuk, is holding a normal working session of the Presidium. That is where our comrades have gone."

At 0835 GMT Laptev resumes, calling for a vote to have debate on the present issue until 1400. The vote is passed.

Obolenskiy then gives evidence. He says on 19 August he was in Lukyanov's office. All was calm. Lukyanov apparently gave the SCSE's explanation for Gorbachev's health. Obolenskiy asked for a delegation to be sent to Gorbachev. Lukyanov said this was not expedient and would do something about this the following day. Obolenskiy asked in what regions a state of emergency has been introduced, and Lukyanov said none. He asked why deputy Gdlyan had been arrested. Lukyanov says this was probably rumor but would look into it. The following day, Lukyanov phoned to say that Gdlyan had merely been detained and released on the 19th. Gdlyan says he was only released on 21 August.

At 0840 GMT Arutunyan says she respects the presumption of innocence. All attempts to tell us that failure to convene the Parliament was due to technicalities are bankrupt. She says that Lukyanov did not respect deputies. This is all a matter of power. She states that the putsch has been taking place over a long period of time. We have consistently given away our powers, to the president, etc. Of course, Lukyanov's signature is not on any documents. He is too professional a lawyer. Lukyanov's guilt is that the Supreme Soviet has lost its real authority through the exertion of his will. A future Supreme Soviet will have to look very closely at every comma of future laws it discusses. Lukyanov has exploited people's trust. He has put constant pressure on them. He is responsible to those deputies who went to the barricades and were unable to fulfil their professional duty. The Union or a confederation of states can only exist if people are proud to be part of that confederation. This country cannot be attractive to people, Arutunyan says. She calls for an end to this empire.

At 0848 GMT Adamovich says that the same people are coming to the microphone. He describes some of them. Laptev calls on him to be careful. Adamovich wonders what our revolution will be called. Is it to be a velvet revolution? He notes the role of Rostropovich at the Russian Parliament. He notes the solidarity shown to Russia by people from other republics during the defense of the Russian Parliament. If Aliyevs come to power around the country, there will indeed be a threat to democracy. There is a danger that seceding republics may gain a nuclear potential. We have enough of our own Husayns, Adamovich adds. The Baltics have said they wish to be nuclear-free. These nuclear weapons must be destroyed.

Adamovich addresses Alksnis, Kogan, and Petrushenko, and asks about the meeting which the Soyuz group had with Lukyanov.

On Lukyanov's thanks for cooperation with him, Adamovich wonders how deputies will receive this. He questions Vzglyad's interview with Alksnis on the day of the coup.

At 0857 GMT Laptev concludes with some announcements and there is a break.

At 0858 GMT the announcer says that the live relay will resume at 1230 [0930 GMT]. The relay ends.

At 0931 GMT the relay resumes. The screen caption says: "Extraordinary session of USSR Supreme Soviet. Afternoon sitting. Direct relay."

At 0936 GMT Laptev says that since we are discussing the role of the Supreme Soviet and the Presidium, it has been decided to end today's sitting at 1830 [1530 GMT] today to allow committees to meet and discuss decisions that will need to be adopted. He then reads an invite from the RSFSR Democratic Russia deputies' group to USSR deputies to attend a meeting.

Laptev recalls the question over powers of deputies Khodzhiyev and Soskovets raised on 12 July. They were deprived of status in connection with appointment to posts in ministries, but the deputies have not had the opportunity to speak. They have made appeals asking to retain their deputy status for now. Laptev wants to put this to the vote.

A unidentified deputy from the floor talks about procedures for confirming ministers, and says a resolution is needed. Another deputy suggests making no decision for now on deputies' powers; only the Congress can do this. Laptev says the point is that the earlier decision is being disputed. He proposes carrying on with speeches.

Khodzhiyev comes to the rostrum and explains his position. Deputy Tikhonov from the floor quotes the constitution. Savitskaya recalls the circumstances of the earlier decision. Much shouting is heard from the floor. Khodzhiyev says he is being slandered. An unidentified Deputy says it is shameful to be talking of personal matters when the fate of the country is in the balance. Laptev says a draft decision will be offered. He then calls RSFSR Deputy Zaytsev to speak on the main debate.

Zaytsev recalls that the RSFSR Supreme Soviet convened immediately after the coup, unlike the USSR Supreme Soviet. Lessons must be learned. He says the possibility of another putsch has not been eliminated. Zaytsev supports proposal for interrepublican council to be formed, as well as a military council running the Union Army. Republics should have national guards subordinate to their parliaments. On the borders issue, sharp and categorical statements should be avoided, Zaytsev concludes.

At 0954 GMT deputy Golyakov, for the Veterans' Affairs Committee, says veteran councils did not do anything to support the putschists. A statement issued in the name of the Central Council for Veterans was hasty and mistaken. Later statements condemned the violence and anti-constitutional actions, but were not published. The All-Union council has reprimanded those who made initial statement and some people have had to resign. Golyakov appeals for an end to the persecution of some veterans' representatives.

At 1000 GMT deputy Yudin says there is a lot of talk about what mistakes people made when the coup came. We should be talking about what to do to avoid any repetition. He says there is too much personal power which leads to the kind of instability that we have seen. Great hopes were pinned on signing the Union Treaty on 20 August, but reactions of republics after the coup show hopes for unified action were probably unfounded. Yudin observes that after Gorbachev ceased to be chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and became president, the center of gravity began to be moved to executive organs. Republics are declaring the wish to secede; what we need is a Supreme Soviet that people feel really does represent them. We should complete and sign the Union treaty, Yudin stresses. He says that the Russian leadership should be more tactful toward the republics. A resolution appealing for avoidance of blanket denunciations should be adopted. Yudin suggests the Supreme Soviet should continue without a chairman during the interim period. The Supreme Soviet must help the president protect human rights, Yudin concludes.

At 1011 GMT deputy Chelyshev talks about conditions fostering a coup, noting the high level of unemployment in December. We must look after the unemployed better. Our state structures proved incapable of facing up to the coup. The victory came down to personalities such as Yeltsin, Shevardnadze, and Yakunin. Chelyshev criticizes Kravchuk and Nazarbayev for their statements during the coup. For economic progress, the USSR should look to the Third World for markets.

Chelyshev says that he fears an attempted constitutional coup at the Congress; he appeals for the focus to be on econmic progress. A coup investigation should apply only to active figures. Chelyshev calls for Alksnis to be stripped of deputy's powers.

Chelyshev is followed by deputy Engver who objects to some references to the recent suicides in Chelyshev's speech.

At 1019 GMT Alksnis comes to the rostrum and quotes a poem about mutineers. On 19 August, he says, everyone was faced with a choice. The country is not as unified in condemnation of the coup as they would like to make out. [See the Supreme Soviet section of the 29 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT for further on Alksinis' speech.]

At 1026 GMT deputy Ignatovich talks about details of the law on the investigation of crimes; secrecy rules mean people under arrest cannot come and speak.

Ignatovich criticizes Gorbachev's choice of the top men, and his decision to go on holiday, knowing the situation from the closed session in June. He says Lukyanov is largely to blame for the situation that the Supreme Soviet is now in. He has allowed hardliners to build up a political image for themselves. The Supreme Soviet should have met on the 21st or 22d, though Ignatovich doubts whether very effective decisions would have been made even so. Speaking for the Committee on Privileges, Ignatovich says it had previously noted some features which contributed to the action of the putschists.

At 1036 GMT Zhurvlev asks where Gorbachev is and will he come along if necessary? He is expected to be there for the evening session, says Laptev.

At 1037 GMT deputy Levykin says deputies have shown they are unworthy of their posts by their inaction. They let their voters down. They endorsed the appointment of the Central Committee's placemen to government posts. Little is done to protect the rights of minorities. While Gorbachev was chairman, the Supreme Soviet was developing usefully; once Lukyanov took over, things went a different way. Chambers had little chance to fulfill their separate functions, committees and commissions were made ineffectual. Deputies have been passive in face of appeals from the republics for action to halt harmful processes, Levykin states.

At 1045 GMT deputy Sharin says the actions of the Supreme Soviet and its Presidium during the days of coup were criminally tardy. In the past the Supreme Soviet has too often debated non-urgent matters while pressing problems were ignored. Sharin agrees that laws are needed to determine the circumstances in which deputies should gather without being convened. More effective means for deputies to act as groups are needed in order to avoid everything coming down to personalities and valuable initiatives being missed. Deputies should be guided only by the interests of the people and the country, but too many are only concerned with getting their own views across. Sharin talks about the work of the Defense Committee, which needs to be made more effective. But he is ready to speak in its favor if called on to do so. It had a meeting on the 19th, but without a quorum, so no document could be adopted. There are attempts to split the Army up, which are now to be seen are very dangerous, Sharin says. We may be repeating mistakes of the past in the way we are making the latest appointments of heads of the Army and the KGB.

At 1056 GMT deputy Samarin says that the guiding force behind the coup was evident in the "National Salvation Committee" in Lithuania and similar organizations, and he calls for an investigation into the top ranks of the CPSU. Veterans' organizations, the "Unity" group, and similar helped to foster a coup. Lukyanov may have been confused and indecisive when Samarin called him on the 20th, but at least he was at his workplace. Everybody asks each other: Where were you when the coup broke out, except for the deputies.

Objections are raised from the floor about the offense which Samarin's statements have caused to some deputies.

Laptev says he is giving floor to three deputies for brief information statements:

Deputy Shcherbakov describes conversations with Lukyanov at the time of the coup, the excuses he heard for failing to convene the Supreme Soviet, and failing to make access to the president possible.

Deputy Yakovlev describes his conversations with Laptev, Nishanov, and Lukyanov during the days of coup. He asked the latter what he was doing about the kidnapping of the president. Lukyanov was not very forthcoming.

Deputy Denisov calls for parliament to preserve its dignity. He called Lukyanov on the 19th. He evidently gave in to pressure from the junta. Denisov went to see Lukyanov on the 21st and overheard him insisting that the state of emergency should not be confirmed.

At 1112 GMT Laptev reads notices. The relay ends while he reading the notices. The announcer then says the relay will resume at 1600 [1300 GMT].

The relay resumes at 1304 GMT. The relay opens with Laptev in the chair. Gorbachev is seated at the back. Laptev asks deputies to register. There are 438 present. Silayev is also present, as are members of the Cabinet.

Laptev says that the deputies will debate the question of confidence in the USSR Cabinet of Ministers. Shcherbakov says he wants to speak.

At 1309 GMT Shcherbakov speaks. [See the Supreme Soviet section of the 29 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT for Shcherbakov's speech.]

At 1338 GMT Laptev says we are not here to discuss the personal qualities of any individual.

At 1339 GMT Doguzhiyev speaks. [See the Supreme Soviet section of the 29 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT for Doguzhiyev's speech.]

At 1353 GMT Laptev says it is clear we cannot evade the issue. Three articles concerning confidence in the Cabinet are up for discussion. He wants to put to the vote the question as presented by the president on endorsing the president's decree.

Deputy Sazonov from the hall says he doesn't believe the government was implicated in these events. Laptev reads from Article 14 about the resignation of the Cabinet.

At 1356 GMT Nishanov says that on 22 August Gorbachev adopted a decree on relieving Pavlov from his duties as prime minister and he proposes that this government decision should now be voted on.

Laptev then puts the president's decree on relieving Pavlov of his duties as prime minister in view of the circumstances to the vote: For 412, against 3, with 3 abstentions.

At 1400 GMT an unidentified deputy refers to yesterday's draft decision and wonders why we are diverting from this document.

Laptev clarifies matters by reading from the draft decision. An unidentified deputy wants the minister of justice or the procurator general to clarify matters. Another deputy lends his support for what Shcherbakov and Doguzhiyev had to say about the government's innocence in the affair. Other deputies comment on the wording of the decision.

At 1405 GMT, following Minister of Justice Lushchikov's clarifications of some legal points, acting USSR Supreme Soviet Chairman Laptev says: "The president wants to speak. Go ahead."

Gorbachev says: "I received material from Comrade Shcherbakov, very detailed information, 17-20 pages. Then I had a conversation with Comrade Shcherbakov. So there are no newly revealed circumstances for me. When I put just this wording, that is what I took into account. And since this is one of the most important constitutional bodies, one that should stand up to defend the Constitution, implement and protect the constitutional order and everything connected with this, that is just the way I think the question should be posed, and not differently. And turning the Cabinet of Ministers into... this is one of the themes that was there, reducing its role, that it could not play its role... perhaps it could have played this role before anyone else, before anyone else, because without a Cabinet of Ministers nobody could have done anything. And so this wording is thought out and considered, and it raises the question of not being able to trust the Cabinet. I raise this question, I came to this conclusion in this situation, as it arose. This does not mean that here we are passing sentence on each of them individually."

Russian Justice Minister Fedorov then reads from Article 13 of the Constitution on the obligations of the Cabinet of Ministers. Other deputies speak and are followed by a roll-call vote on a decision on confidence in the Cabinet of Ministers.

At 1420 GMT deputy Kalmykov says that we are dragging through a decision on this question. He quotes from Article 30 of the Constitution which says a two-thirds vote is required.

A lawyer deputy makes a further point from the hall and believes we should take a vote on the first part of the decision. An unidentified woman deputy wants further clarification of the decision. Deputy Dzhanibekov says that Pavlov's dismissal should be automatic. He is put down by Laptev. Another deputy wants the chairman to be changed to get things moving.

At 1424 GMT Laptev wants to put to the vote the question of supporting the president's proposal in the first part of his decree. He reads from the wording of the law on a vote of confidence in the Cabinet of Ministers. A deputy makes a point from the hall: If we are votong against the president, we are voting against the Government, he says. Another deputy says the question is clear enough for anyone with intelligence. All we need is a 50 percent vote. Laptev wants everybody to sit down so they can vote.

At 1430 GMT Laptev asks deputies to register before voting by name; 459 have registered.

Kuzmin insists on speaking so Laptev lets him have the floor. He reads from another article from the Constitution about procedures. Laptev is getting impatient with the deputies. Deputy Karlov says only three words are needed—Who's in favor of a confidence vote?

Laptev then says: "So esteemed comrades, members of the Supreme Soviet. Being put to roll-call vote by the Supreme Soviet is the question, in accordance with the law on the Cabinet of Ministers, article 14: Who is for confidence in the Cabinet of Ministers. Who is for confidence. I ask you to vote.

Who is for? Who is for confidence?. Who is against? Who abstains?. Thank you, the decision has been adopted." The voting panel shows the following figures: 16 for, 402 against, 26 abstained. The decision is adopted.

At 1435 GMT Laptev says: "Under Point 2, the president has set up a committee to arrange for the operational running of the country's national economy jointly with the republics. It is headed by Ivan Stepanovich Silayev, who is in overall charge, Arkadiy Ivanovich Volskiy, Yuriy Mikhyalovich Luzhkov, and Comrade Yavlinskiy. They are to be instructed to determine the members of the committee and in the next two days to appoint people who are to be responsible for running specific areas of work..."

Gorbachev interrupts: "Let me speak from where I am. The situation is this. Normally when the government or Cabinet resigns, the resignation is accepted but it is instructed to carry on working until the new one is formed. The current situation cannot be accommodated by this procedure. And something had to be done. I want you to understand my actions, my motives, the logic of it. So we had to set up a group, set up some some kind of organizational structure which could liaise with the republics and ensure the reins of economic management are not dropped. It is to operate until we decide the Cabinet issues. That was what I wanted to say in this brief report."

Laptev then says: "All right, Ivan Stepanovich, over to you. Just a moment..."

Gorbachev interrupts again: "It's not spelled out in the Constitution. But what are we to do? As president I am able to undertake certain things. Otherwise, it won't be understood. Indeed, I am obliged to take steps. Let's discuss it."

Russian Prime Minister Ivan Silayev they begins to speak.

At 1436 GMT Silayev takes the floor. [See the Supreme Soviet section of the 29 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT for Silayev's remarks.]

At 1443 GMT deputy Kucherenko supports Silayev's group. He asks that this question be backed up by legislation.

Silayev adds a few words and is thanked by Laptev.

Professor Yakovlev from the hall then proposes a change in the wording on the second part of the president's decree.

At 1446 GMT Gorbachev again stresses the importance of the situation. Laptev asks for a vote on part two of this decree. Voting commences: For 341, Against 27, Abstentions 43. The decision is adopted. An unidentified deputy protests from the hall and calls for a new SCSE to be set up! Another woman deputy makes a point about the appointment of the committee being unconstitutional. Further remarks from the hall; one calls for the results of the ballot according to chambers. Deputies Kogan and Yudin make further comments about the decision.

At 1457 GMT deputy Kalmykov that the decision just adopted is in line with a wide interpretation of additional powers granted previously to the president. But a time limit should be set for forming the Cabinet strictly according to the Constitution.

Gorbachev comments on the suggestions put from the floor, supporting them. The form of words in the decision adopted is dictated by current circumstances.

At 1500 GMT deputy Yaroshinskaya asks for clarification of how the Ukraine is represented in the committee.

Silayev says he has spent two days arranging things with leaders. Kravchuk endorsed the representation of the Ukraine. Queries should be addressed to the leaders concerned, Silayev says.

A woman deputy comments on the constant queries about the constitutionality of decisions being adopted. But deputies themselves failed in their constitutional duty during the coup. Let's get on with our business more quickly, she states.

Deputy Murashev says the SCSE was unconstitutional because there was no presidential decree. Deputy Sukhov talks about the disappointment at seeing Gorbachev ordered about at the RSFSR Supreme Soviet session.

Gorbachev replies to some of the points made. The main thing on his return from the Crimea was to keep the republics together. At any other time he would not have stood for the insults. The RSFSR leaders did what they could in the circumstances, something to be supported. Many of the decisions adopted then included the words "until the return of the president".

At 1512 GMT an unidentified deputy from floor says KGB had lists including deputies who were to be eliminated. He adds that the current provisional government could be the beginning of a government of national accord.

At 1514 GMT another deputy says the committee is not the future cabinet, but will form the structures. Its formation is in line with the powers of the president.

Deputy Yakov says the economy is a mess. He says they should support the decision just made and enable work to proceed.

At 1518 GMT Deputy (?Tsyplyayev) argues that the decision is constitutional.

Laptev then reads out a telegram from Kiev: The working meeting between Rutskoy and Kravchuk has begun. Expect a joint communique.

At 1520 GMT an unidentified deputy asks why debate continues after a decision has been made. Laptev reads out the breakdown of vote by chambers which had been requested. He says they agreed to work until 1530 GMT.

Deputy Savitskaya proposes an addition to Paragraph 2 of the decree. Precise dates and duties of deputies should be made clear.

At 1523 GMT a deputy speaks on behalf of lawyers' group, appealing to Alekseyev not to resign as head of the Constitutional Supervision Committee.

Deputy Bimbayev suggests a meeting of republics' leaders to decide if they want a federation or confederation. Laptev says all republic leaders have been invited to the Congress.

At 1526 GMT Deputy Medvedev quotes a Russian Government resolution published in ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA prompting the USSR president to dissolve the Cabinet and hand powers over to the Russian Government. Asks for a proper constitutional Cabinet to be formed as soon as possible.

At 1528 GMT Deputy (?Plavnyuk) complains about a statement last week which contained lies about him. A deputy from Kaliningrad Oblast calls for praise for KGB and MVD officers who refused to be provoked into anti-constitutional acts. Another deputy reads a statement complaining that Estonian authorities have deprived him of his job, other interference in his life, persecution of Russian minorities in the republics in general.

At 1536 GMT Laptev asks the deputies to be brief. Deputy Komarovskaya has a request for the president: her constituency did not support the coup, but nevertheless there have been arrests there. Please stop the repressions.

Deputy Filippov from Komi says he resigned as a deputy in June. Recalls his protests over the closed session. Now he wishes to withdraw his resignation.

At 1541 GMT an unidentified deputy says he is certain Lukyanov acted properly during the coup. He compares him to commander Kutuzov in 1812.

At 1544 GMT a deputy says the country is on the verge of ruin. Yeltsin is saying the USSR Supreme Soviet should be dissolved. Meanwhile here the deputies are arguing the toss all the time. Laptev says he has to give people time for statements. Deputy Voronezhtsev proposes a vote on closing the sitting. Laptev says requests for statements will be carried over to tomorrow and they calls a vote on closing debate. The motion to close is passed: 382 for, three against, three abstain. Laptev then reads notices.

At 1547 GMT the relay ends.

26 Aug Lukyanov No Confidence Proposal

LD2908180191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1521 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Address by Deputy Kiselev at extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed colleagues! Bearing in mind that this problem does, indeed, worry almost each member of the Supreme Soviet and each people's deputy participating in the session of our parliament today, the group of deputies proposes to examine and endorse the following draft resolution. We have all acquainted ourselves with the documents which were handed out to us today, we have all acquainted ourselves with the drafts of the documents, which were drawn up at the Supreme Soviet session, the planned agenda of which was totally different—and this applies to this day in particular. We have also acquainted ourselves with the documents sent by Yanayev, on which Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov appended his instruction recommending that the committees and commissions draft their conclusion. We therefore consider it possible to submit the following draft resolution to the Supreme Soviet session:

In connection with the fact that the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet did not fulfill his constitutional duty and did not take the necessary measures to foil the conspiracy against the state, the USSR Supreme Soviet rules:

To express no confidence in the Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov;

To propose to the Congress of USSR People's Deputies to recall Lukyanov from the post of chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet in accordance with part I, article 119 of the USSR constitution;

To propose that Lukyanov puts in an application for resignation as USSR people's deputy in accordance with part II, article 9 of the USSR law on the status of USSR people's deputy. To appoint a person to carry out these duties until the issue of the election of the chairman is resolved. [loud talk in audience]

As far as the need to hold the hearing is concerned, then it will be dealt with by the session and the Supreme Soviet. We have submitted this here because, in our view, the points on the agenda and the responsibility of the Supreme Soviet leadership must be examined first.

Gorbachev Speech on Union 'Cogent, Reasonable'

PM2808202691 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Aug 91 Union Edition p 1

[E. Gonzalyez article: "The President Needs Us, We Need the President"]

[Text] By the end of day two of the highly chaotic discussions at the Supreme Soviet session, alternating with almost futile calls for people to speak to the point, constructively, and briefly, in the end a certain topic had after all begun to emerge and grow to become the main topic—that of the headlong disintegration of the Union of sovereign republics, with all its obvious and unpredictable consequences.

USSR President M. Gorbachev picked this up, of course, and promptly, without leaving his presidential desk and while continuing to listen with one ear to the deputies' speeches, prepared to sum up the results of the discussion, with the emphasis on the problem of preserving the Union. An account of what he said is published in our newspaper today. To me it appeared cogent, reasonable, impassioned, and, indeed, the product of heartfelt suffering. So much so that he declared his intention to resign from the presidency in the event that the Union cannot be preserved.

M. Gorbachev took a very positive view of the proposals of Deputies Yu. Ryzhov and A. Vladislavlev, and even developed them somewhat. One proposal touches on measures for the security of people and society, the other is basically an action program for a transitional government in the form of a renewed Security Council.

It is a pity that not all the deputies were listening attentively to what the president said. One even tried to shout something into the microphone during his speech, while others shared their impressions from their seats, but at the tops of their voices. It is distressing now to see not only the lack of sophistication and tact on the part of certain deputies, but also the fact that formerly on many occasions they listened with servility and even approved statements and demands from the president that were not always beyond dispute, but that they stopped doing so at precisely the moment when he started talking to the point.

Throughout these days I have been racking my brain over one question: why this session is turning out the way we can all see. I can only offer one answer as the key to this: All these years, no link has actually formed between the deputies and their voters, their dependence on them has not materialized. Can you remember a speech that was based on the voters' opinion? Not the general opinion of the electoral district's entire population, but that of a specific meeting in a specific locality. I can't. There are more and more references to the opinion and actions of local authorites. Here there is clearly some degree of dependence, but that, alas, is not very encouraging.

Supreme Soviet Shows Strength 'With Hindsight'

PM2808163691 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Aug 91 p 1

[A. Pankratov report: "Supreme Soviet Strong With Hindsight: Extraordinary Session of USSR Supreme Soviet Opened Yesterday"]

[Text] This session was exactly one week late. Last Monday, when the statement on the Union treaty by the then chairman of the country's Supreme Soviet was being broadcast to the point of indecency, there was still one-thousandth part of hope that the putsch would be stopped if not by the parliamentary leadership then by USSR people's deputies, and all these State Committee for the State of Emergency excesses would end. But the people's elected representatives attending the Yanayevites' well-known press conference kept silent. The overwhelming majority of the 30 deputies whom we managed to telephone on the morning after the coup also avoided giving a direct answer to the question "Do you support the State Committee for the State of Emergency?" V. Tsybukh, member of the Presidium and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Youth Affairs, took a temporizing stand at the USSR Cabinet of Ministers session on 19 April.

Meanwhile, I really do not want to reduce matters to personalities today (let the actions of each elected representative be assessed by the voters, as Deputy Karyakin has proposed), but no matter how bitter, the fact must be acknowledged: The supreme organ of state power in the country, which effectively betrayed its people, no longer has the right—at least the moral right—to lead the country. Only the Committee for Legislation (of the dozens of committees, commissions, factions, and groups of deputies) adopted a statement 20 August condemning the anticonstitutional, unlawful coup.

Indeed, the Supreme Soviet ceased to exist long ago—ever since deputies allowed the parliamentary opposition to be destroyed as a result of ingenious but quite treacherous rotations. Ever since the people's elected representatives allowed their perfidious speaker to manipulate them before the eyes of the whole country. Ever since we first heard within these very walls attacks on the country's president, the defamation of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet chairman, and appeals from large groups of deputies to introduce... a state of emergency.

My parliamentary report today is more like an obituary notice. An obituary notice for a group of comrades called upon to serve at least as a symbol of statehood and legality.

But let us at least moderate our emotions and think: What actually happened at yesterday's extraordinary (everything has been extraordinary in our country recently!) session of the Supreme Soviet? Neither in the report by the country's president nor in the entire businesslike speech of the leader of the Russian parliament did we hear the main thing mentioned—the scale, structure, and mechanism of the conspiracy. We simply did not receive **any information**. They outlined but did not even adopt the immediate measures to prevent such "surprises." Furthermore, representatives of the "Soyuz" group went onto the offensive again, twisting the situation to suiththem, as is their wont.

In the euphoria of victory we should not forget that the mutiny has—this is obvious to all today—a "second line," a deeply echeloned and, believe me, more resolute rear. Which would undoubtedly like nothing more than for the Supreme Soviet to dissolve itself or to be the usual endless political talking shop.

Deputies adopted a decision to call an extraordinary congress 2 September. A group of parliamentarians proposed the following nominations: as vice president of the USSR—A. Yakovlev, and as foreign minister—E. Shevardnadze.

Deputies Interviewed on Coup Aftermath

PM2908133891 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 Aug 91 p 2

[Interviews with Konstantin Lubenchenko, Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, Oleg Kalugin, and Vladimir Shcherbakov by Yelizaveta Leontyev as part of feature under rubric "USSR Supreme Soviet Session"—date not stated: "Interviews During the Recess"]

[Text]

Konstantin Lubenchenko: "Such Are the Rules of the Procedural Game..."

[Leontyeva] Konstantin Dmitriyevich, does it not seem to you that since the first day the session has been "swerving" to the right? That many deputies are trying to get away from the main problems and submerge the essence of the matter in procedural and organizational questions?

[Lubenchenko] To put it more precisely, there is a hidden game of political forces going on. Some people want to stay with what they have, while others want to get involved in the new structures that are now going to emerge.

[Leontyeva] In your opinion what is the future of I. Laptev and R. Nishanov, chairmen of the chambers?

[Lubenchenko] At the 22 August sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, we raised the issue of A. Lukyanov not chairing the session. Nishanov tried to sidetrack us. We had to warn him that we could raise a vote of no confidence in him. I do not know yet what will happen to him. As for Laptev, he had a major confrontation with the Supreme Soviet at one time, and left the CPSU.

I think that this will be in his favor today.

Grigoriy Yavlinskiy: "Window of Opportunity Has an Opportunity" [subhead]

[Leontyeva] Grigoriy Alekseyevich, can your "Window of Opportunity" program be implemented now?

[Yavlinskiy] Yes, it can be implemented in principle, if Russia agrees. And Russia in its turn will have all the opportunities to carry it out. Or else, if the center that remains—it will remain in some form—agrees to implement it.

[Leontyeva] What is your post in the new Union Cabinet?

[Yavlinskiy] It will all depend on what form it takes.

[Leontyeva] And do you want to be in this government?

[Yavlinskiy] If my program is used, then of course.

[Leontyeva] Only on that condition?

[Yavlinskiy] Yes, only on that condition!

Oleg Kalugin: "All KGB Directorates Are Involved Here" [subhead]

[Leontyeva] Oleg Danilovich, who were the main figures in the conspiracy?

[Kalugin] Lukyanov and Kryuchkov. I think in that order.

[Leontyeva] According to rumors, they wanted to arrest you.

[Kalugin] Yes, that is true. But people from the seventh KGB directorate, which as it happened ran the "Alfa" group that everyone is talking about—they warned me. This, incidentally, shows the serious split in the KGB. I went underground on 19 August and I was already in the White House on 20th August.

[Leontyeva] And which KGB directorates played a sinister role in the coup?

[Kalugin] They were all involved here. Of course, it was primarily the Ninth, since they are responsible for the president's physical protection. Then, of course, there was the 12th department which was involved in bugging. The Second Main Directorate, which is nominally involved in fighting espionage, but has an extensive secret service network throughout the whole apparatus. And the Sixth Directorate which controls all our economic, academic, and other departmental systems.

Vladimir Shcherbakov: "I Could Not Understand What Was Going On"

[Leontyeva] Vladimir Ivanovich, when the head of the Cabinet of Ministers fell ill during the days of the coup, did you, as first deputy, not want to take his place?

[Shcherbakov] Never.

[Leontyeva] They say that Pavlov was drinking during those days.

[Shcherbakov] Yes, he was drinking on the night of 19-20 August.

[Leontyeva] Did you not perceive any signs of the coup beforehand?

[Shcherbakov] I did. There were many signs that there might be a coup from either one side or the other. But so much work had been done to stabilize the economy, and also in the political sphere, that it seemed that it could not happen.

[Leontyeva] Why did you defend Valentin Pavlov at a press conference after the situation had become completely clear?

[Shcherbakov] I have known him for 20 years, and we are friends. And to this day I sincerely believe that he was the hostage of a provocation.

[Leontyeva] It appears that at the Cabinet of Ministers sitting, you did not agree with the State Committee on the State of Emergency. Is that how it was?

[Shcherbakov] I am well acquainted with Starodubtsev's and Tizyakov's views and I do not agree with them. I said: My reaction to the State Committee on the State of Emergency prior to the USSR Supreme Soviet session depends on the methods they use to restore law and order and discipline in the country. But since I am responsible for enormous state duties, I cannot abandon them at this time which is so difficult for the country, so for the time being I will carry them out honestly.

Then I tried to contact Silayev, Yeltsin, and Khasbulatov, who by then had already reported that this was a military coup. I thought that they had some proof of this. But neither they nor the State Committee for the State of Emergency had any evidence. There were only words.

But I understood that the government had to be extracted from the position of political hostage, and this is what I tried to do.

Political & Social

Gorbachev Bans Political Activity in Military

LD3008104491 Moscow TASS in English 1033 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 30 TASS—The Soviet president cancelled military-political bodies within the Soviet Armed Forces, KGB Interior Ministry and railway troops by a decree signed on Thursday, August 29, and published today.

Lukyanov Arrested, Office Searched

LD3008103691 Moscow TASS in English 1026 GMT 30 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Lyudmila Shvedova]

[Text] Moscow August 30 TASS—Anatoliy Lukyanov, impeached by the Soviet parliament on Thursday, has been arested by order from the Russian Federation Prosecutor's Office in connection with the criminal investigation into the coup d'etat, TASS learned from a telephone conversation with Procurator-General of the Russian Federation Valentin Stepankov.

Lukyanov's Kremlin office, as former chair of the USSR Supreme Soviet, has been searched in keeping with the same order.

New Foreign Minister Pankin's Role Discussed

OW2908175691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1643 GMT 29 Aug 91

["Special Edition" of "Diplomatic Panorama" by M.Mayorov and I. Porshnev; "USSR's New Foreign Minister Boris Pankin: Difficult Mission Under Dire Circumstances"; item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Mikhail Gorbachev has issued a decree putting Boris D. Pankin in charge of the USSR Foreign Ministry. The Supreme Soviet is now expected to approve the appointment. At DP's [Diplomatic Panorama's] request the Ministry's Information Department supplied some background information about Mr. Pankin:

He was born in Bishkek (formerly Frunze), Kyrgyzstan, on February 29, 1931 and is Russian by birth. In 1953 he graduated from the Lomonosov State University in Moscow. A journalist by training, he speaks English and German.

In 1953-73 he worked in the youth daily KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA and went all the way up from an ordinary reporter to the editor-in- chief. From 1973 to 1982 he headed VAAP, the national Copyright Agency.

In 1982-90 he was ambassador to Sweden, and then to Czechoslovakia. He combined his diplomatic work with literary activities, writing critical essays. He served as a member of the ruling board of the national Writers' Union.

As the recent coup hit Moscow and other Soviet cities, Mr. Pankin, then Ambassador to Czechoslovakia, publicly distanced himself from the putschists and pledged allegiance to the lawfully elected president, Mr. Gorbachev. DP's reporters asked a group of officials inside and outside the Foreign Ministry to answer a number of questions concerning Mr. Pankin's new appointment.

A. Belonogov: The Minister's Appointment is Essentially Important.

Not a single other foreign minister has been appointed in a situation as dramatic and difficult as today's, said Deputy Foreign Minister A. Belonogov. He said the MID (Foreign Ministry) staff has definitely sighed with relief, now that the period of uncertainty and nervousness is over and the ministry is back under control.

Mr. Belonogov said Mr. Pankin is a prominent figure in the diplomatic circles, known as a well educated, intelligent and knowledgeable specialist. Many knew him as ambassador first to Sweden, then to Czechoslovakia; to others he was known primarily as a literary critic and ex-editor of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. Still others remembered him as head of the VAAP, an organization that used to be in close contact with the Foreign Ministry. The new minister is reputed to be a committed democrat, A. Belonogov said.

Of course, he continued, any diplomat coming to the top post in the Foreign Ministry may face quite a number of unfamiliar problems and have to learn a lot. He will have to shoulder immense responsibility. The years Mr. Pankin has spent abroad are sure to have enriched his professional and practical experience, Mr. Belonogov observed.

He stressed the point that the minister's emergence onto the political scene is "essentially important" for the future of the Soviet diplomatic service. At a time when the state system is undergoing rapid and radical changes, and when a new pattern of relationships is taking shape between the center and the republics, it is vitally important to assess these relationships correctly and prevent the break-up of the diplomatic corps without which no country could exist normally, Belonogov said.

Mr. Pankin's appointment, he went on to say, is important also in the context of the present international situation, when a few days are left before the opening of the 6th session of the UN General Assembly and the Moscow Conference on Human Dimension which is expected to bring together foreign ministers from about thirty countries. Preparations for a peace conference on the Middle East cannot be delayed either. So it is in the nation's best interests to have the Supreme Soviet approve Mr.Pankin's candidacy at an early date, A. Belonogov concluded.

V.Petrovskiy: Moscow Conference is Feasible

Deputy Foreign Minister V. Petrovskiy told DP that he had learned about President Gorbachev's choice of the new Foreign Minister with satisfaction. He said Mr. Pankin is known as a prominent diplomat with considerable experience of work in both Western and Eastern Europe. Mr. Petrovskiy praised Mr. Pankin for his civic courage during the coup d'etat in the Soviet Union.

On behalf of the Soviet diplomats who, as he put it, "were among the initiators of perestroika and remain its committed proponents," Mr. Petrovskiy said that B. Pankin is a man who can uphold Soviet society's drive toward democracy, greater openness and assimilation of world experience.

On the prospects of holding a human rights conference in Moscow on September 10, Mr. Petrovsky said the Foreign Ministry is yet to confirm its plans, since "opinions vary considerably" with regard to this conference among the ministry staff. Yesterday, August 28, V. Petrovskiy, who acts with the consent of the 35 CSCE nations as Executive Secretary of the Moscow conference, requested the Foreign Ministry's official confirmation that the USSR is ready to host the the human rights forum.

Personally, he believes that the conference can take place in spite of certain organizational difficulties. Moreover, he thinks such a conference is essential in the new conditions from the viewpoint of ensuring both national and international guarantees of the USSR's further progress toward democracy. We have to review approaches and not fear that international support may turn into outside interference, said V.Petrovsky.

V. Lukin: What Will the Future Role of the Union Minister Be? The Chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Sovietr International Affairs and Foreign Economic Links Committee, Vladimir Lukin, told a "DP" correspondent that he was pleased by Boris Pankin's appointment as USSR minister of foreign affairs. At the same time he noted that "at the moment the role of the All-Union minister of foreign affairs was difficult to define".

S. Tarasenko: What Influenced the Soviet President's Decision?

A "DP" correspondent spoke to Sergey Tarasenko, assistant to Eduard Shevardnadze, leader of the Soviet Foreign Policy Association, and former member of the college at the head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Committee for Planning and Evaluation.

Stressing that it was merely his personal opinion, Sergey Tarasenko said that President Gorbachev obviously did not understand the nature of the international problems facing the Soviet in the wake of the failed coup. Tarasenko thought that it was not the professionalism of the head of the Foreign Ministry that was now at issue. In that regard Mr. Pankin could not be faulted.

Tarasenko described him as a "brave and progressive" person. But, he emphasized, the country is now up against a situation in which international trust in her is at stake. In conditions such as these it was vital that the president be surrounded with people who were trusted and who would be able to reassure the international community. In this way a favorable climate for the conducting of Soviet foreign policy could be created.

Mr. Tarasenko welcomed President Gorbachev's statement that after the coup he had returned to a new country as a new person. However, the appointment of

Mr. Pankin gives rise to much concern. The appointment was dictated "not by the interests of the state and of its foreign policy, but by personal expedience. If cadres are chosen according to this principle, as they were before the coup, "it sets a very dangerous precedent" said Tarasenko. The country has only just paid very dearly for the president's "former friendly links".

Tarasenko went on to say that his appraisal of the situation in no way cast doubt on the professional and personal qualities of the new foreign minister. He did a great deal to reform the work of the embassy in Czechoslovakia at a very difficult time in that country. Mr. Pankin is a very worthy man but "he has been put into a position in which he will find it extremely difficult to function". The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is, said Tarasenko, in a crisis situation and it will be very hard for them to extricate themselves from it.

Mr. Tarasenko denied reports that President Gorbachev had consulted Eduard Shevardnadze about the appointment. He also stressed that Mr. Shevardnadze had no personal ambitions as regards this post. He had no intention of taking up a ministerial position. Tarasenko said that this would be "a difficult and practically unbearable burden".

But after yesterday's appeal by the Foreign Ministry Workers' Collectives to Eduard Shevardnadze, he could, according to Tarasenko, have taken up this difficult task, knowing that it was in the interests of both state and business for him to do so.

Eduard Shevardnadze's assistant, Plenipotentiary and Special Ambassador Teimuraz Stepanov, who for many years worked side by side with the former minister, was also interviewed by a "DP" correspondent, and said that he agreed absolutely with the assessment of his colleague, Sergey Tarasenko.

IZVESTIYA Interviews Pankin

PM3008080491 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Aug 91 Union Edition p 5

[Interview with newly appointed USSR Foreign Minister Boris Pankin by I. Prelovskaya—date, place not given: "B. Pankin: 'I Know What a Responsible Job It Is'"]

[Text] I managed to catch Boris Dmitriyevich Pankin, who has been appointed USSR foreign minister by the president, soon after he flew in from Prague. I have known him for many years, ever since he was probably one of the boldest and most progressive editors of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in the mid 1960s. After working on the paper Pankin headed the All-Union Copyright Agency and then became a diplomat. He was ambassador to Sweden for a long time and then, for the past 18 months, to Czechoslovakia. Pankin was the ambassador who, as we have reported already, made a clear choice straight away, condemning the actions of the self-styled SCSE [State Committee for the Stage of Emergency]. How did he see the new appointment?

[Pankin] To be honest I still find it hard to talk about it. I have very mixed feelings. I am perfectly well aware what a responsible job it is and, of course, I am immensely worried about the country's future. The offer made to me by the president was supported by Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev and I also had a long talk with Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, who wished me success and promised me every support.

All these years I have served the foreign policy course they call the Gorbachev-Shevardnadze course and I carried it out in Stockholm and in Prague. But in recent months it had become harder and harder work and I was encountering resistance from certain structures. Psychologically our country was not ready to accept what was taking place in Eastern Europe and what is now happening here. In Prague they call it a "quiet" or "velvet revolution." For us these were days of Transfigurations. Indeed the coup took place on Transfiguration Day. Now there is a fundamental coup taking place throughout our lives. I talked about this with President Havel, with whom I was in contact throughout that period. It was nice to hear on the radio that he welcomed my appointment. My colleague Rudolf Slansky also congratulated me. Nevertheless, I was sorry to leave Czechoslovakia. The recent events led to our finding new avenues of mutual understanding. Do I feel up to the new post? I believe I have the life, civic, and diplomatic experience. I also want to do all I can to do good in that field, as long as I get through all the stages that are required for the appointment, of course.

Moscow TV Interviews Pankin

LD2908223991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Interview with Boris Pankin, newly appointed Foreign Minister by correspondent Goryachev; from the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Excerpts] Today Boris Pankin began his duties as foreign minister. As you know he was appointed to this post by the USSR president. Despite the fact that the new minister is still to be confirmed by the Supreme Soviet, we have deemed it possible to show you today the material we have compiled. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Goryachev] Boris Dmitriyevich, people credit you with respect for the position you took while being an ambassador, but surely, being in charge of the Foreign Ministry is much more than being in charge of an embassy. What is the main task now facing the Foreign Ministry, and how do you intend to tackle it?

[Pankin] It appears that the main task facing the Foreign Ministry is that it must fully implement the foreign and, I am not afraid of this word, internal policies of the country's current leadership—I have in mind the USSR president, the RSFSR president, and the nine plus one—the policy of extricating the country from all the crises in which it is deeply immersed, and of helping the most serious wounds inflicted by the putsch to heal.

[Goryachev] Could you describe in three words, in three concepts, the foreign policy to be conducted by the Foreign Ministry with you in charge.

[Pankin] We will aim at joining the world of civilized states. [end recording]

Shevardnadze on Foreign Ministry Situation

OW2908204891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1845 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an interview with an "Interfax" correspondent, Eduard Shevardnadze confirmed that President Gorbachev did not seek his advice in appointing the new Soviet Foreign Minister. He described Boris Pankin as an experienced, well-educated and capable person. "However, these are very difficult times and making snap decisions is not easy". Shevardnadze noted that the staff of the Foreign Ministry, unique in their potential, are also in a difficult situation. He called on people to respond with understanding to the activities of individual diplomats during the coup. In particular, Mr. Shevardnadze described the Soviet ambassador to Sweden, Mr. Upenskiy, who had been accused by IZVESTIYA of "zealously implementing the decrees of the State of Emergency Committee", as one of the most gifted and talented young people to have emerged into the international arena during the perestroyka years. He doubted that the former Soviet Foreign Minister, Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, had acted in treason and hoped that in time more would become clear.

On Invitation To Join Security Council

OW2908204591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1845 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze has told IF's [INTERFAX's] Igor Porshnev the following:

On Wednesday he had a telephone conversation with President Gorbachev who informed him of an agreement with the republics to set up a Security Council [SC]. According to Gorbachev, it would be an authoritative body involving the top republican leaders, the Moscow and Leningrad mayors, two former SC members—V. Bakatin and Y. Primakov, as well as Aleksandr Yakovlev and a number of other prominent politicians. The president invited E. Shevardnadze to enter the Council too.

Mr. Shevardnadze said the invitation had surprised and puzzled him, and he had told Mr. Gorbachev that the question was too serious to be talked over in a telephone conversation. It would require the preliminary study of the functions and rights of the SC and its members. President Gorbachev agreed with the argument and suggested a personal meeting.

On Thursday, Gorbachev again called Shevardnadze over the phone and asked him to come to the Supreme Soviet session. However, the session's opening prevented the two men from talking things over. Shevardnadze returned to his Association to be told later that his name had been on the presidential list of candidates to the Security Council. "That surprised me," Shevardnadze said and added that he might have accepted the president's invitation if a personal meeting with Gorbachev had convinced him that his membership in the SC was necessary.

Mr. Shevardnadze did not rule out that the president's invitation might be a token of his trust in Shevardnadze. "However," he said, "I should be asked what I think of my own future." He approved the parliamentary session's decision to take this "raw" question off the agenda.

Kvitsinskiy Defends Foreign Ministry Actions

PM3008134091 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 29 Aug 91 p 3

[Letter from Yu. Kvitsinskiy to Russian Foreign Minister A.V. Kozyrev under the rubric "Diplomatic Correspondence": "Kvitsinskiy to Kozyrev"]

[Text] Esteemed Andrey Vladimirovich,

I am forced to turn to you in connection with recent publications by RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Deputy Foreign Minister A.V. Fedorov—first in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA and then in TRUD—on the subject of shortcomings and negligence in the work of the USSR Foreign Ministry during the anticonstitutional coup. Although in the latest article A.V. Fedorov directs his criticism mainly at the USSR Foreign Ministry leadership, the issue here is in fact about defaming the entire Soviet diplomatic service and portraying our staffers as people without civil courage or principles, inflicting damage on the country's prestige.

A.V. Fedorov is entitled to his own opinion on any USSR Foreign Ministry staffer—leader or rank-and-file worker—and may express it. But he has no right to blacken the entire collective. By acting in such a manner he resembles the authors of those articles in well-known publications where only recently the question was raised: Are there any patriots in the USSR Foreign Ministry? Demands were put forward that those who were involved in agreements to reduce arms in Europe, the withdrawal of our troops from Eastern Europe, and the conclusion of treaties with a united Germany should be put on trial. It is interesting that A.V. Fedorov did not raise his voice to criticize these appeals at the time. But now he has contrived to brand the USSR Foreign Ministry as a "good ally" of the State Committee for the State of Emergency. Only he has no right to do this.

A.V. Fedorov's speeches contain many points which are not just inaccurate or misinterpreted, but which are blatantly false. I do not want to say that nothing could have been done differently, more correctly, better. The work of all USSR Foreign Ministry subdivisions is now being subjected to a thorough analysis with the participation of the collective, and the results of this will allow us to make definitive judgments. There is no need for hasty conclusions and generalizations, especially when the issues concern living people, work colleagues.

I will not dwell on all the accusations and allegations made in the said publications. I will merely touch upon one thesis which concerns the alleged concealment by the USSR Foreign Ministry of the position of the Russian leadership during the tragic events of 19-21 August. Accusations in this connection are persistently leveled at me personally too.

Above all, A.V. Fedorov must know that during the putsch the Russian leadership's instructions could not reach foreign posts as usual by cipher communications or "shortwave," as these links are under KGB control. But the fact is that your deputy did not try to send materials via these channels through us, except for one solitary draft which reached me by the evening of 20 August. It became clear very quickly that its basic content had already been conveyed to our Soviet embassies. The RSFSR Foreign Ministry was also informed of this, and had not raised any objections on this score for two whole days. Not once during the days of the putsch did A.V. Fedorov phone me or address any questions to me.

Now a look at the USSR Foreign Ministry's block on Russian leadership materials—the thesis which A.V. Fedorov is forcefully developing. But does he know that prior to Yanayev's 19 August press conference the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration duplicated and distributed among those journalists and diplomats present a detailed account of RSFSR President B.N. Yeltsin's press conference and the appeal "To Russia's Citizens" signed by B.N. Yeltsin, I.S. Silayev, and R.I. Khasbulatov? Does he know that throughout 20-21 August contact was constantly maintained by our staffers with the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Press Service (V.M. Tsanga) and foreign journalists were helped to gain access to the extraordinary RSFSR Supreme Soviet session? The USSR Foreign Ministry also disseminated information on the press conference given by Comrades A.I. Volskiy, Ye.M. Primakov, and V.V. Bakatin. There are other facts, too, which testify to the hastiness and injustice of Fedorov's judgments and conclusions.

I ask you, Andrey Vladimirovich, to look with the fullest attention at what is written in this letter. It touches upon only some of the questions.

Yours respectfully,

Yu. Kvitsinkskiy.

P.S. I have just read your interview in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. I don't think that you were in danger of being arrested in Paris. I regret that you have assimilated many of A.V. Fedorov's theses. With regard to the so-called "Kvitsinskiy doctrine," the fact is that no such doctrine exists. There is the official state concept for the renewal of the USSR's political treaties with Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Czecho-Slovakia, which was prepared at the time when the ministry was led by E.A. Shevardnadze and confirmed by the USSR leadership. As a deputy USSR foreign minister, I acted in accordance with this concept, and obviously I could not and should not have acted otherwise.

Bessmertnykh Statement to Deputies Published

914B0351A Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 Aug 91 p 2

[Report by ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA parliament observers Vyacheslav Dolganov and Robert Minasov from the Kremlin: "On the Threshold of Self-Disbandment"]

[Excerpts] **Having left the conference hall without waiting for the announcement of the lunch break, Anatoliy Sobchak, upset, shrugged dismissively and remarked to the journalists besieging him: "I am looking at many people who today step forward to the microphones and the podiums; I listen to them, and I can imagine very well what they would be saying these very days, and how, had the coup perpetrators won."**

Yes, the 26 August evening session and the entire second day of the union parliament's work (truly, is it indeed a parliament?) would only bring out disappointment and irritation among millions of people (first of all, among heroic Muscovites and residents of St. Petersburg). Is this what the people who have lived through mortal danger have been waiting for?

[Passage omitted]

Pushing their way into the ranks of heroes are also those who hid, although it was their official duty to counteract the putsch in a most decisive way. It is universally known what a negative role almost all Soviet diplomats played, trying to convince the civilized world of the legitimacy of the coup. The investigation will need to sort out who played first fiddle in this.

Yesterday, however, a document of the following contents was distributed at the session (officially, through the presidium and the secretariat):

Appeal by A.A. Bessmertnykh to the Deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"Esteemed Deputies!

"In connection with the deliberations on the USSR president's decree relieving me of my post as the USSR minister of foreign affairs, I want to state: From the first to the last day in this post, I devotedly worked for the benefit and in defense of the national interests of our country. My business was conducted in front of you.

"In the first part of the day on 19 August, when we were all in a state of shock and uncertainty **we had an official contact with Yanayev, but not with the Committee on the State of Emergency,** which I resolutely refused to join when **the offer was made to me on 18 August.** (Here and elsewhere highlighted by us.—authors)

"However, in the second part of the day on the same Monday, I, together with my deputies, decided to counteract the Committee silently and to work only within the framework of the policy formulated by the USSR president and approved by the USSR Supreme Soviet. I issued an order not to carry out any requests and commissions of the committee; this order was implemented in practice.

"A circular telegram was sent to all ambassadors and permanent representatives at international organizations; it directed them to conduct their activities strictly within the limits of the policy of constitutional organs; then another telegram was sent that forbade the carrying out of instructions from any other organs (And what did the coupists call themselves early on 19 August, may we ask?—authors).

"Monday evening I was **stricken** with renal colic, but I continued to work despite having been ordered **to take plenty of bed rest. On Wednesday I publicly announced my denunciation of the unconstitutional coup in our country."**

...And so on, more of a kind, with assurances of adherence to democracy and to the reform process since kindergarten age. And a special-effect ending: "As a cadre professional diplomat with 34 years of service, I obey the decisions of our president."

We can only add that we have not changed either the style or punctuation in this letter. [passage omitted]

Bakatin Outlines KGB's Future Role

PM3008091091 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Aug 91 Union Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Vadim Bakatin on the KGB"]

[Text] Vadim Bakatin, former USSR internal affairs minister, who left his post in strange circumstances, and member of the USSR Security Council, was appointed KGB chairman some days ago by Mikhail Gorbachev. Bakatin moved to the Lubyanka, to the building where, as he puts it, he can completely trust practically no one at the moment.

In his office he replaced all the telephones used by his predecessor, Vladimir Kryuchkov, categorically refused the higher rank offered by Gorbachev, ordered two new armchairs, hung up a portrait of Gorbachev instead of the portrait of Lenin, hung a landscape on the office wall, and removed the internal guard post barring ordinary KGB staffers from access to the wing of the building that contains the offices of Soviet state security's top leaders. The new chairman commenced the measures to dismiss KGB staffers with his own son, who worked in the organization, explaining that he found it impossible to have relatives as subordinates. There will be other changes in the very near future, Vadim Bakatin said. The new chairman intends to deprive the KGB of at least one-half of the functions it has at the moment.

"The most dangerous thing is that the KGB has had an absolute monopoly on government communications, total surveillance, secrecy, encryption and decryption of documents, protection of USSR borders and of the president," Vadim Bakatin said. "This may have had a decisive part to play in the coup. That is, the danger to the Soviet Union lay in the very structure of the state security organs. It is my job to make the KGB an organization that really does guarantee the country's security. We must deal only with intelligence, counterintelligence, and crimes by top Soviet state officials. Anything else is none of our business..."

...You can read the full interview Vadim Bakatin gave to our correspondent S. Mostovshchikov on 29 August in tomorrow's issue.

New KGB First Deputy Chairman Appointed

LD2908170891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1625 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, 29 August. (TASS)—By a decree of USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev, Major General Anatoliy Oleynikov is appointed first deputy chairman of the USSR Committee for State Security. The decree was signed today.

KGB Denies Mass Arrests Planned During Coup

PM2908150091 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Aug 91 Union Edition p 6

[Report by S. Mostovshchikov: "During the Coup the KGB's Lefortovo Prison Was Undergoing Scheduled Cosmetic Repair Work"]

[Text] IZVESTIYA has received information from unofficial sources to the effect that arrests of persons capable of hindering the new authorities in the job of building a bright future were envisaged in the scenario for the state coup in the USSR. According to some figures, about 7,000 names were on the list.

We have so far not managed to obtain any documentary confirmation of these facts. However, there are no grounds to claim that such lists did not exist, since the former "Soviet leaders," from the USSR president down, were hardly likely to halt their activities.

Now—alas—it is difficult to judge whether any special preparations for this were made. According to Aleksandr Fokin, chief of the KGB's 10th Department, who is responsible for the security organization's detention centers and prisons, no instructions about preparing space to detain an additional contingent of prisoners were received from the State Committee for the State of Emergency.

This information was confirmed by Yuriy Rastvorov, chief of Lefortovo Prison. According to him, all that his establishment—which is intended to hold 200 or more prisoners—was engaged in before, during, and after the putsch was minor cosmetic repair work to the cells. They were given a fresh coat of paint, something which is done every summer, so the chief of the USSR KGB's detention centers claims, since paint dries better when the weather is warm.

"This is the first time I have heard about any lists," Yuriy Rastvorov says. "If there were any, then we were evidently not trusted, just as they do not trust us now: Not one of the conspirators who were arrested the other day has been sent to me."

Vladimir Gulyayev, chief of the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Correctional System, gave no information about lists of candidates for political imprisonment either. He categorically denied the rumors that work to construct new camps and renovate old ones was carried out on the country's territory before or during the coup.

"I would be happy if I could build new prisons and camps for criminals in this country, because what we have now is a disgrace and a mockery of human rights," Vladimir Gulyayev says. "However, such work was not carried out and is not being carried out. I am ready to prove this to any people's deputy or any representative of any party."

The last person we approached on the subject of blacklists was Gennadiy Dobrovolskiy, deputy chief of the USSR KGB Directorate for the Defense of the Constitutional System (the renamed Fifth—Ideological—Directorate. He stated that officers and operations workers of his subunit had tried not to show any initiative during the putsch. However, he admitted that this directorate, notorious for political repressions in past years, had received instructions from the State Committee for the State of Emergency. Gennadiy Dobrovolskiy refused to inform IZVESTIYA what sort of instructions these were, referring to the fact that the new KGB chairman, Vadim Bakatin, is now carrying out an investigation into all the incidents that took place in the KGB in the period of the coup. However, Dobrovolskiy made this comment on these instructions:

"On 19 August these instructions could have been described as 'minor specific instructions.' But they could hardly be called this today."

SCSE Had KGB 15th Directorate Prepare Bunker

PM2908091691 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Aug 91 p 1

[Report by V. Ivanov: "USSR KGB 'Bunker' Directorate, 1015 Hours, 18 August"]

[Text] We have learned from unofficial sources that combat readiness was declared at 1000 hours 18 August at the KGB 15th Main (Bunker) Directorate. General Gorshkov, who gave this order, and the entire leadership fully supported the State Committee for the State of Emergency. An installation was made ready for the members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency.

At the same time the bulk of the directorate's rank-and-file personnel and officers did not back the putschists. Everything indicates, however, that Prokofyev, first secretary of the Moscow City CPSU Committee, and, possibly, other high-ranking party officials fled the CPSU Central Committee building down this directorate's passageways.

Committee Investigating KGB Releases Statement

LD2908234291 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1900 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Members of the state commission to investigate the activities of the KGB, formed yesterday by the country's president, held a news conference tonight in the Russian House of Soviets. At this news conference, the official text of a press statement by the state commission was read by RSFSR People's Deputy Nikolay Ryabov, deputy chairman of the commission.

[Begin Ryabov recording] On 28 August 1991, the state commission to investigate the activities of KGB bodies was formed by decree of the USSR president. The commission includes USSR and RSFSR people's deputies, and representatives of the state security committees of the USSR and the Russian Federation. According to the decree, the basic aim of the commission is to elucidate the role of state security bodies, both at the center and locally, in the anti-constitutional coup of 19-22 August 1991. The commission feels obliged to emphasize that it is not replacing the law enforcement bodies. The guilt of specific people will be determined by the courts. The commission appeals to all citizens of the country, to the KGB staff, and to people connected with state security activities through various circumstances, not to consider the formation of the commission as the start of repression and persecution for belonging to the State Security Committee.

At the same time, we express the hope that these people will not hinder our work, and will cooperate and offer every assistance.

The main task of the commission is to draft proposals for the reorganization of the KGB's structures and for the creation of legal guarantees, which excludes the unconstitutional use of laws.

Beyond doubt, the commission will obtain the most important evidence for its conclusions in Moscow, where the main center for running the country when it had fallen under control of the SCSE's leaders was concentrated. At the same time, the reaction of individual regional and special administrations of state security in the 19-21 August period gives us the right to request help for the state commission from the leadership of republics, krays, and oblasts and of national-territorial formations. The relevant telegrams are already being sent out.

The members of the commission declare that the investigation of facts connected with the events of 19-21 August will be conducted in full accordance with existing legislation, with respect for the rights and freedoms of citizens. Thank you. [end recording]

TASS Views Committee

LD3008032191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1805 GMT 29 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Surzhanskiy]

[Text] Moscow 29 August (TASS)—To re-examine KGB functions as a whole, to elaborate the concept and after that the law on national security as well as to establish the place and part the KGB organs took in preparation and carrying out the 19 August coup d'etat —such are the tasks of the State Commission established on Wednesday by the decree of USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev. Members of the commission among whom are the USSR people's deputies, representatives of the state security bodies and USSR and RSFSR procuracies, have gathered today in the RSFSR House of Soviets in order to inform the journalists about the way their work is going to be conducted. Participants in the news conference have stressed in their addresses that for the reform of the security organs appropriate changes in USSR and RSFSR Constitutions are required. In the course of the news conference a statement made by the members of the commission was read which says, in particular, that "it (commission) does not replace in itself the law-protecting organs; the measure of guilt of the concrete individuals will be determined by the court". The statement is made in response to various spontaneously created committees already appearing in sertain regions of the country and carrying out their own investigations, by doing which they are flouting the rights and liberties of the citizens.

The document contains an appeal to the country's population and KGB personnel not to view the creation of this commission as the start to repressions and persecution for belonging to security bodies. In order to ensure that the commission's activities will not be seen as a new type of informing, the document especially emphasizes that all its work is being concentrated on preparing suggestions for the reorganization of KGB structures and creation of the legal guarantees which will exclude their unconstitutional use. The matter here is not the disintegration of KGB, its important structures such as the intelligence and counterintelligence, but about discontinuation of its gendarme functions directed against its own people, stated members of the commission.

Russian TV Interviews Procurator General Trubin

LD3008040491 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1941 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Interview with USSR Procurator General Nikolay Trubin by correspondent Vladimir Martynov; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Martynov] The events in our country during those three days, 19-21 August 1991, may be described as three days which shook the world. Naturally, the role of the procuracy, the body supremely responsible for monitoring compliance with legality, is highlighted against the background of these events.

Let's begin with the chronology. On 23 July 1991 SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA published a word to the people. Nikolay Semenovich, wouldn't you say that this word to the people was flying a kite for the coming putsch?

[Trubin] That is quite possible.

[Martynov] Did the Union's procuracy notice this letter at the time and, if so, how did it react to it?

[Trubin] Yes, we noticed this letter and read it. We pondered the legal implications of the letter. But I was reminded of another letter or interview which was published in MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETs—an interview with the historian Badkin. This also contained some hints that young people were not active enough, that they were not taking account of the experience of Chinese students, of young people in Romania, and so on. When we talked to the correspondent, to the historian Badkin, it was possible for them to explain that this was a polemical article, a journalistic article and there was no reason to make some kind of criminal document out of it.

[Martynov] Nikolay Semenovich, you said that you spoke to the historian Badkin and the correspondent who wrote that article. Did you interview any of the authors of a word to the people about their letter?

[Trubin] No, we did not interview any of them. We did not find any legal basis for levelling anything against them, especially in a country which professes freedom of expression and pluralism of views.

[Martynov] We ought to talk about the TASS reports which we received from Latin America, to be precise Cuba, where you were on an official working visit. You were alleged to have said that the measures taken by the SCSE were completely lawful and were aimed at saving the national economy. Can you explain this situation?

[Trubin] This is a grave matter. This is a fabrication. This is a complete lie. When these events took place, on the morning of 19 August, I was informed by the Procurator General of the Republic of Cuba about the report which had come in from Moscow. He spoke in Spanish, which I understand. But it's not a language in which I can express my own thoughts properly. I was surrounded by correspondents who began asking me this question.

I said that without knowing the situation I could not comment. If you come to Moscow, I said, I will give you an accurate commentary on the events there. Then, to my dismay, I read that report, first of all in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA and then in IZVESTIYA. I have learned that the presidential office organized a check of this. Judging by the article which has been published, a fresh IZVESTIYA correspondent interviewed Bilevikin, the Soviet charge d'affaires in the Republic of Cuba. This letter, which deals with my reaction to the report, was circulated to deputies today. There is absolutely no suggestion in it that I had recognized the legitimacy of what had happened. I could not have recognized this as lawful.

[Martynov] However, your deputy, who was acting procurator general here, committed, or recommended that procuracies implement all the laws connected with the introduction of the state of emergency on the country's territory, thereby recognizing the legality of the SCSE.

[Trubin] When I arrived at work on the morning of the 21st, the documents were reported to me. I was shown the telegram. The telegram said that, in accordance with all these documents, prosecutors were being asked to take steps to intensify their monitoring of compliance with the USSR Constitution and USSR laws in the conditions of the state of emergency. The objective conclusion to be drawn from this was that the regime of the state of emergency had been deemed lawful. Their thinking on this was as follows: The Supreme Soviet was saying nothing. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and its chairman were saying nothing. The Committee on Compliance with the Constitution, as represented by a few of its members, had issued a statement of sorts. This was rather vague, to be frank. I realize that under the circumstances they probably could not have expressed themselves more directly.

The next argument was that the procuracy did not check on the decrees. They looked at it this way. The decree and the documents had been signed by the vice president, who had declared that the president was ill and could not perform his duties as president.

That was the logic of their argument. Those actions can only be explained. They cannot be justified. I think that, in this instance, my deputies were weak-willed and unprincipled in their legal assessment of the SCSE's decisions and actions. I dismissed Vasilyev, First Deputy Prosecutor General, for the display of weak will and lack of principle in his legal assessment, as I have already said. I dismissed Abramov, the deputy prosecutor general, who was responsible for monitoring compliance with the laws on state security. I was obliged to dismiss Katusev, the chief military prosecutor, who, while on holiday in the USSR, displayed total indifference toward the tragic events in which the Armed Forces were involved.

[Martynov] Confidence in the procuratorate has been undermined at all levels, beginning at the district and village level and ending with the USSR Procuracy. However, the procuracy is the supreme body charged with monitoring compliance with the law. Its authority must be restored. What needs to be done, in your view, to restore the authority of the USSR Procuratorate?

[Trubin] I think that very serious changes are needed in its personnel, in the officials employed by the procuracy, above all in the leadership echelon of the USSR Procuracy. I must accept responsibility for the fact that when I became Prosecutor General in January this year, I was too slow to rid the USSR Procuracy of leaders holding conservative views, ones who held centrist positions, in other words believing that the prosecution service should be rigorously centralized. They did not accept the changes which had, in fact, already taken place, or even those amendments to the USSR Constitution, on the prosecution service, which were adopted at the last Congress of People's Deputies, following a proposal submitted by myself. Not all my deputies and divisional heads agreed with those amendments. They felt that I had made concessions. I should have drawn the right conclusion from this. But I delayed until the signing of the Union treaty.

[Martynov] Nikolay Semenovich, here I have a copy of the NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA which publishes, on its front page, a document marked top secret. According to this document, the USSR Procuratorate drew up documents for the internment of a number of individuals. According to this list, these people included Yeltsin, Silayev, Rutskoy, Burbulis, Khasbulatov, Voshchanov and other figures who are very, very well-known in Russia and the rest of the country. What can you say about this?

[Trubin] Yes, I read that document. It does indeed say that this was to be done in accordance with documents drawn up by the USSR Procuracy. But the document has no heading. Neither is it addressed to anybody. It is unsigned, apart from four official stamps endorsed in illegible handwriting by figures who have not so far been identified. I have been instructed by the investigator to find this document, to try and discover who endorsed it, and to investigate and establish whether this document is genuine or not. If something was indeed drawn up, then we are prepared to take the most extreme steps against our colleagues, although all of them have expressed the utmost indignation at what they regard as a fabrication. I do not rule out the possibility that this document meant that these people were to be seized first and then a warrant would be obtained from the USSR Procuratorate. That is possible. But that all has to be verified.

[Martynov] Clearly the most interesting thing now is to find out who signed, who endorsed the document.

[Trubin] Unquestionably, unquestionably. But I should say that the KGB did not regard me as their man, as somebody who could be trusted.

[Martynov] Why?

[Trubin] There are several reasons. I have already said that I have held this job for only eight months. First of all we contacted an acquaintance, so to speak. We drank tea together in intervals between sittings of the Supreme Soviet, and talked about these things. Then, again it comes back to the Novo-Ogarevo process. When the document, the draft Union treaty, was drawn up, Kryuchkov came to me in a very bad mood. He said that the draft would virtually destroy the Union. Nikolay Semenovich, he said, let's draw up a joint critique of this draft. OK, I said, let them write it. When this document was written and brought into the Supreme Soviet hall, I read it. It criticized absolutely everything in the draft. I said that I would not sign such a document because I did not intend to go beyond my own remit, my responsibility for the prosecution service. I made it clear that I considered it important that the negotiators should give the Union the power to decide whether crimes affecting the interests of two or more republics and crimes motivated by interethnic conflict should be investigated and brought to court. I could tell from his complexion that he was annoyed. He instructed an official to redraft it the way I wanted. A little later the same day they brought the reworked document. When I saw that it now incorporated my proposal, the way I wanted, I signed it. I know that this document was received. The president told me that he had forwarded our wishes on this draft to all the republics.

But the next day I was not allowed into the zone, the so-called security zone. As usual I opened the door and went in. But my way was barred by a guard who said: The main entrance is that way. I got out my ID with the intention of proving who I was. He said: I don't need to see your ID. I know you. You are Prosecutor General Trubin. So, I was turned away from the door.

[Martynov] In other words, you were excluded from preparation of the coup d'etat?

[Trubin, chuckling] Maybe so. Subsequently there were other situations. When the Vilnius events were investigated, we requested official documents from the KGB, the MVD and the Ministry of Defense. The document received from the KGB denied flatly that KGB forces played any role in the Vilnius events. You may remember that the body of an officer was discovered at that time and nobody wanted to claim him as theirs. He turned out to be a KGB agent. In that instance, the denial was phrased in such a way as to suggest that Shatskikh was there in an official capacity. He was there purely by chance. Nobody else was there. But when the investigation began, the testimony of many witnesses, including Armed Forces personnel, made it clear that KGB forces were there. Therefore, I sent Comrade Kryuchkov a letter. Don't force us to expose the KGB position by investigative methods, I said. I think that an open statement by the KGB might help to establish the objective truth about this matter as quickly as possible. That was after I had been criticized for my report on the Vilnius events. When I decided to revise our forms of cooperation with the Lithuanian procuracy, I sent a representative there. Talks were held and we agreed to join forces, to put two officials in charge of a joint investigation, one from each service. This might also have distanced me from that milieu.

As far as the events of 13 January are concerned, I think the guidelines for the investigation must be changed completely, in the light of what has now emerged.

[Martynov] Will they be changed?

[Trubin] Unquestionably, if the job is entrusted to me.

[Martynov] In conclusion, let's return to a word to the people. It was signed by 12 people. Three of them have already been arrested on suspicion of committing treason against the state. Among others who signed this letter were men who held very high rank—Valentin Varennikov, in the Ministry of Defense; Boris Gromov, in the Ministry of Internal Affairs; and Gennadiy Zyuganov, in the Central Committee of the RCP. Gennadiy Zyuganov is a politician, I'll agree. But should a political declaration of this kind—and this was a political declaration—have been signed by men who held, I stress, official positions of this kind? After all, it's not simply a question of Boris Gromov and Valentin Varennikov personally but of the first deputy minister of Internal Affairs, the post which Boris Gromov held, and the USSR Deputy Minister of Defense, the post held by Valentin Varennikov.

[Trubin] But they thought it wiser not to associate their official positions with the appeal and did not go as far as that. No doubt you would like to know whether they are going to be invited to an interview on this subject?

[Martynov] Well, Varennikov will obviously be invited.

[Trubin, chuckling] Yes. Three have already been invited. All the rest of them will be invited too.

[Martynov] Does that include our renowned singer, Lyudmila Zykina?

[Trubin] Of course. Of course. Lyudmila Georgiyevna will also be interrogated, as a witness.

[Martynov] Thank you very much for the interview.

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA Interview

PM3008092491 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 29 Aug 91 p 2

[Interview with USSR General Prosecutor Nikolay Trubin by correspondent Viktoriya Vinogradova; date and place not given: "Whose Side Are You on, Nikolay Trubin?"—first paragraph is ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA introduction]

[Text] USSR General Prosecutor Nikolay Trubin is the only one of the whole top leadership of the law-enforcement organs to keep his job. In the investigation of the criminal cases instituted by the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and USSR Prosecutor's Offices in connection with the coup d'etat, and now combined into a single operation, the decision on many questions falls exclusively within his competence. However, the far from glowing versions of and opinions on the actual stance taken by Trubin during the action by the State Committee for the State of Emergency led our correspondent to the Union Prosecutor's Office.

[Vinogradova] Nikolay Semenovich, you certainly knew the plotters quite well, and they you...

[Trubin] You know, I am convinced that Kryuchkov was one of the coup's prime movers. As far as I am concerned, he did not trust me, and not without foundation. My differences with Kryuchkov began back at the time of the Vilnius events. At that time the Union Prosecutor's Office questioned the official findings of Kryuchkov, Yazov, and Pugo—there were too many contradictions. The conclusion received from Kryuchkov was that his people did not participate. But during the investigation it emerged that KGB forces played a dominant role. I then wrote Kryuchkov a letter about this, stamped "secret." And he threw me a bone, admitting the fact of the KGB's participation, and also sent a list of approximately 30 names, and also indicated the leaders. I passed these materials to the investigators to be worked on. It was the first indication to him that I would not fall into line with a position convenient to him. Soon one of my former deputies, Abramtsev, who was at the KGB before he came to us, I think at Kryuchkov's behest presented an official document to me signed by himself, and also Slavgorodskiy, which drew a conclusion about the "existence of grounds for instituting criminal proceedings against Landsbergis." I appended a resolution to it: "I have studied this and find no grounds for instituting criminal proceedings." To all appearances, that was also passed on to "them."

[Vinogradova] Slavgorodskiy—he is the current RSFSR deputy general prosecutor?

[Trubin] Precisely. But at that time he was still working for us as chief of the administration for oversight of the application of laws on interethnic relations.

[Vinogradova] Well, did you not sense your colleagues' mood a long time before the coup occurred, and also did you not notice the obvious leaning to the right that became markedly more pronounced in recent times?

[Trubin] Of course I sensed and noticed this. And not only in the future plotters. It must be said that the sentiments of totalitarianism are very pronounced in a considerable section of the USSR Supreme Soviet. And they did not appear only yesterday. Remember the still-famous speech by Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin in Cinema House. At that time the Supreme Soviet demanded that the USSR General Prosecutor give a legal assessment of it, reckoning that it contained elements of a crime associated with insulting the USSR president. I gave this assessment—that I did not discern any such elements—and sent my official findings to them.

And the celebrated Gdlyan case? I was generally under colossal pressure from the Supreme Soviet. As soon as I appeared on the rostrum I was immediately asked: Where is Gdlyan? But, of course, the draft Union Treaty accelerated this leaning to the right. As soon as it had been signed and delivered to Security Council members, Kryuchkov said: "That's it. There is no Union. The Union will collapse." And later that famous session followed at which Pavlov demanded additional powers for himself and at which Kryuchkov, Yazov, and Pugo spoke.

[Vinogradova] Why was it that Russian organs carried out the arrest of the "troika?"

[Trubin] That is not surprising. Imagine for yourself that the leaders of all the union structures are participants in the plot. To whom could I entrust the arrest of Yazov or Kryuchkov? On whom could I rely?

[Vinogradova] And the last question, Nikolay Semenovich. The leadership of the USSR Prosecutor's Office that headed it in your absence supported the action of the participants in the plot. Are you sure that you have people to rely on now?

[Trubin] As regards those of my deputies who actually supported the plotters' action, they were immediately dismissed from the organs of the prosecutor's office. But we also have plenty of principled and honest people.

Interim Administration Discusses Economy

LD2908151791 Moscow TASS in English 1444 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 29 TASS—The new interim administration headed by Russian Prime Minister Ivan Silayev on Thursday discussed urgent measures to stabilise the economic situation in the country and improve food supplies.

Deputy Mayor of Moscow Yuriy Luzhkov, responsible for agriculture, trade and social affairs and foreign economic ties, informed the committee about top-priority measures to be taken to find resources for foreign trade and increase economic responsibility for violating contracts.

Arkadiy Volskiy noted the committee should focus on ways to stabilise industry, construction, transport and communications, and put forward several concrete measures.

Silayev summed up the results of the discussion.

Later in the day, the committee gathered for an extended session with leading Soviet economists.

Volskiy Cited on Interim Government

PM2908162391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Aug 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report by M. Berger: "'Interim Government': No Decisions Yet"]

[Text] The Committee for the Uninterrupted Work of the National Economy (that version of the name was to be heard at the meeting between the committee members and M. Gorbachev), which was formed by USSR presidential decree, has existed since Saturday 24 August. What has happened here in that time?

As is known, the committee is headed by Russian Premier I. Silayev; A. Volskiy, Yu. Luzhkov, and G. Yavlinskiy have been appointed as his deputies. We contacted Volskiy on the morning of 28 August.

"The committee meets twice a day: at 1200 and 1830 hours," Arkadiy Ivanovich explained. "So far we have agreed on what we will be doing. There are four main blocks of questions. The first is food and trade. Luzhkov has been entrusted with these problems. I have industry, including the defense industry and transportation, while Yavlinskiy has been entrusted with strategic studies and questions of macroeconomics. There is also the block of social problems, but it has not been assigned to anyone yet. I cannot give any more details about the committee's work yet, but we are working.

A conclusion begs to be drawn from what Volskiy said. Aside from removing all Union ministers from their posts and appointing temporary leaders from the Russian Government in their place, which I. Silayev carried out as chief of the committee, the "interim government" has not done anything else yet. This is no misfortune, no doubt, as haste is a bad assistant, but the committee's powers, the principles of its work, and its immediate intentions are still not fully clear. It is not known whether it intends to be involved just in maintaining the functioning of the Union economy for an indefinite time, or whether it will also resolve tasks of a common economic system. It is not out of the question that the committee will grow into a kind of interrepublic organ of management or coordination operating in the transitional period either until the Union disintegrates or until the Union Treaty is concluded.

Judging by the fact that the committee has not announced its decisions or intentions after several sittings, you can assume that its members are not finding it easy to reach agreement on key questions. And the question of the fate of Union organs of management is undoubtedly a key question which in principle is one of whether to preserve them in some form or to abolish them. If you take into consideration the utterances made by certain interim leaders of Union departments (and you must assume that they represent the viewpoint of the Russian Government) that have already appeared in the press, then it all points to the winding up of the Union structures. An organ such as the Ministry of Trade will probably not exist, and a council or an association of republic central banks may appear instead of the USSR State Bank. The committee members probably have other views on this problem too.

Article Says Cabinet 'Prepared Ground' for Coup

PM2908122391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Aug 91 Union Edition p 4

[Article by I. Demchenko: "Union Government Prepared Ground for State of Emergency. It Should Be Answerable for That"]

[Text] Personal treachery and betrayal were required for the USSR president to decide to remove the helpless union government from power. Over recent years and particularly the past year under the leadership of N. Ryzhkov and then of former Finance Minister V. Pavlov, who replaced him, the government had pursued a consistent policy aimed at the collapse of the economy. The most important sphere and that hardest to restore—money and financial circulation—suffered particularly. It may be said that a policy of veritable genocide was pursued with regard to the ruble.

The economically pointless and harmful decisions and actions of the union ministers led to the point where today our state's national currency has been virtually destroyed. The abyss between income and prices has arisen and is continuing to deepen, leading to the impoverishment of whole social strata of the population and making normal commodity exchange impossible. Taking advantage of the fact that what is happening in the sphere of money and financial circulation is complicated for people without special training to understand, the leadership of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers deliberately mislead or kept uninformed the majority of Supreme Soviet members and the USSR president, who replaced the honest professional economic advisers in his entourage with theorists of the political economy of socialism.

The USSR president's compromise position and the pressure ;from the government led to the rejection of the "500 days" program which provided the opportunity to halt the financial anarchy [bespredel] which began back in the summer of last year and to create in 18 months the prerequisites for the country's transition to the market. Instead the "Basic Directions" were imposed on society and as a result of the actions of the union government within the framework of these "directions," often in the form of decrees of the USSR president, the rise in prices became inevitable. Society was deceived not only by paternalistic promises of "full compensation" but also by the fact that Pavlov's government carried out a frenzied and uncontrolled issue of money, dumping on the economy tens and hundreds of millions of pieces of colored paper called "rubles." The national currency was rapidly devalued.

Instability and hysteria were further fueled by actions like the exchange of 100-ruble and 50-ruble bank notes, the bans on the withdrawal of savings from savings books, the introduction of draconian taxes and customs duties, and so forth. In the words of Academician N. Petrakov, we now have something more than inflation. The country's monetary system is in total collapse. The state budget deficit has surpassed all conceivable dimensions. The state has formed a huge foreign and domestic debt. Statehood itself, of which a very important attribute is national currency, is under threat.

There is no doubt that all this was done deliberately, with a full understanding of the consequences. It is impossible otherwise to explain the meaningful silence of members of the government, the minister of finances, the premier, and his deputies in response to the numerous statements from specialists and journalists working in this field. Moreover, when the hope emerged of receiving Western aid, without which it is impossible to emerge from the crisis into which the government has led us, the Cabinet of Ministers leadership did everything to discourage foreign business circles from supporting us. Statements were made by the premier—from an undeclared war with all banks of the world allegedly encroaching on our ruble to his unappetizing hint that the West would never understand why V. Pavlov eats up all his potatoes and gravy.

I am convinced that all these and many other facts attest that the union government had long and entirely successfully been preparing the ground for the introduction of a state of emergency in the country. The August anticonstitutional coup was not the reason for and still less the consequence of some situation which "existed" or had "broken out." It was its continuation, a planned stage directly stemming from the logic of what was happening. That is why the plotters included almost the entire cabinet, which wanted to replace executive power with absolute power.

The consequences of what they did will be very grave and unpleasant, particularly considering our habits and stereotypes of behavior and thinking. Their elimination will require enormous exertion and will take a long time and will be absolutely impossible without active foreign support. It would be absolutely right and utterly fair for this Cabinet of Ministers to bear responsibility not only for taking part in the anticonstitutional plot but also for the damage it has caused to the state and society during its period of activity.

Moscow Bank Allocates Funds for Coup Resisters

LD3008031491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 29 Aug 91

[From the "TV Inform" program]

[Text] [Studio correspondent Sergey Medvedev] The three days of the coup were a fairly tangible blow to our economy. Its consequences have still not been eliminated. It seems to me that in this respect businessmen should have their say. Inkombank [Moscow Innovatory Commercial Bank] has already allotted R10 million.

[Correspondent N. Kvashenkina] The language of figures is dry, but kind-hearted television viewers use it. Sometimes figures are more eloquent than any words. Thus R10 million from the reserves of the Inkombank have been allocated as follows: R4 million to the Moscow mayor's office, including up to R1 million for the families of those who died; and R4 million to the clearing account of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] state committee for defense and security. Also R1 million in cash is to be allocated to the staff of Russia's internal affairs bodies and the servicemen who took part in the defense of the Russian government's White House. In addition, in the extreme situation that existed by 20 August, Vladimir Vinogradov, chairman of the Inkombank board, made a decision to financially support the defenders. By the following morning R1 million in cash was at the disposal of Russia's Council of Ministers. This was not just a handsome gesture, because money loves an account and bankers know how to count money. [Video shows interview with Vinogradov]

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] Vladimir Viktorovich, we have all been through a frightening three days. It was a big lesson for us and we have learned a lot. In your view, taking account of this lesson, what measures can be taken, perhaps they are already being taken, to insure the development of free market relations in the country against similar shifts in government structures?

[Vinogradov, chairman of the Inkombank board and chairman of the council of the Moscow Bankers' Union] We think there is a need at the present time, when the leaders of our economy have emerged from the administrative system, to have our own direct representatives in the government structures and in legislative structures that would have as members bankers who are engaged in the practical market economy.

[Correspondent] This would be a guarantee to some extent.

[Vinogradov] Yes, it would provide a guarantee because it would quickly get our market economy moving ahead and would prevent unwise decisions. [end recording]

[Medvedev] Well, one can say bravo to Inkombank and advise other businessmen to follow its example.

Government Communications Committee Set Up

LD2908162191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1426 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, 29 Aug (TASS)—With the aim of ensuring uninterrupted administration of the country, the national economy, and the armed forces, and stably and reliably guarding the exchange of information between the organs of state power and the government of the USSR and of its constituent republics as well as between other state, economic, and commercial structures, a decree of the USSR president dated 29 August sets up a committee for government communications under the USSR president with the status of a Union-republican committee. The appropriate directorates of the USSR Committee for State Security and the troops attached to it have been placed under the control of the new committee.

Conference Discusses CPSU Moscow Property

PM3008092591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Aug 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report by S. Taranov: "CPSU Property: Something Is Clear, But Far From Everything"]

[Text] On 26 August a working conference of Moscow Vice Mayor Yu. Luzhkov and members of the capital's government with responsible workers from the CPSU Central Committee administrative-economic administration was held. There was a discussion of how much and what the communist party has on Moscow's territory and how to make rational use of all this property.

But first a stipulation about why the Moscow leaders devoted to democracy who proclaimed the principle of the sanctity of any form of property, to whomever it might belong, engaged in the difficult matter of expropriation and "respecialization."

Yu. Luzhkov said that there is already obvious evidence that the CPSU Central Committee and the Moscow City Committee promoted the implementation of the 19-21 August coup. While the Moscow raykoms [rayon committees] did everything during the days of the putsch to try to disavow the decisions of the legal authorities of Russia, the municipal council, and the city government and put pressure on the leaders of enterprises and on labor collectives in particular not to follow the call from Yeltsin and Popov for an immediate political strike, the capital's "chief" communist Prokofyev was persistently seeking a nomination enabling him to head a new organ for the city's management based on the model of the junta. But no one, not even those leaders whom the democrats did not particularly welcome had given consent for such an "honorable" post. All city services chiefs of any note at all refused the temptation to serve the putschists in all prefectures without exception.

Today the problem is not only of keeping all documents attesting to complicity in the crime after sealing the party fortresses on Staraya square. We must carefully investigate the material and financial potential of an organization which could implement state coups. And this potential was very, very considerable.

Finances. A spokesman for the CPSU Central Committee financial services stated that today the CPSU's property is assessed at 5.3 billion rubles [R] and there are R2.4 billion in the party accounts in the Gosbank [State Bank]. Is that a lot? Do not rush to draw conclusions. After all the cost of, for instance, the 4,500 buildings and installations of the CPSU was reckoned at the prices of 15-20 years ago and at any rate has been reduced many times over compared with market prices for real estate.

Virtually nothing is known of the communist party's money in deposits in commercial banks or money in the capital funds of joint ventures. It turned out that the financial experts from Staraya Square have no idea, since "no consolidated information is provided centrally or locally regarding the commercial activity of the CPSU and its individual subdivisions."

It is the same with currency operations. Lord have mercy on us, what millions and millions of dollars are involved if the CPSU Central Committee account at the Foreign Economic Bank contains a pitiful few thousand, and even that was not earned but bought from the Gosbank for rubles for trips abroad and at the commercial exchange rate, what is more... Did currency rivers flow from the USSR to maintain the fraternal communist parties in Germany, Greece, and worldwide? If they did, then in no way was it through the CPSU Central Committee financial organs. That is so, they swore at the conference. It is true that the conference itself was late in starting because Yu. Luzhkov was investigating information that party currency is now being urgently moved abroad. Yuriy Mikhaylovich did not elucidate the details. But there is a hope that we shall soon learn what lies behind his statement.

Publishing. There are 80,000 people working in the CPSU's 114 publishing houses and 81 printing plants with a total balance value [balansovaya stoimost] of R1.3 billion (at 1984 prices). Of course, the enormous press industry is not built on membership dues from rank and file communists. In Moscow alone the annual planned profit from five party enterprises should have been nearly R450 million in 1991. For many years the so-called "party" press grew rich through its monopoly on printing books out of copyright (Mayne Reid or Charles Dickens, for instance) and the direct plundering of all other publications whose profits (including those of IZVESTIYA) were confiscated for the benefit of the CPSU Central Committee.

Main Office. The total area of the CPSU Central Committee's administrative buildings in Moscow is 150,000 square meters and the balance value is R137 million (at the prices of no one knows what year). The staff of the economic department numbers 800. Its construction administration has about 1,200 workers and managers and its furniture factory a further 200.

Transport. The CPSU Central Committee is served by a model facility in terms of the technical state of its vehicles, the modern repair base, and qualifications of the automobile mechanics and drivers. The transport administration collective numbers 1,400 people of whom over 1,000 are drivers first class. The party functionaries have at their disposal 570 of the 31-02 and 24-10 Volgas, about 100 buses, 140 trucks, and also ambulances and training vehicles. All this cost R42 million (at state prices, of course).

Treatment institutions. Their balance value is R480 million. They include 19 sanatoriums and four leisure homes with 7,100 beds. Not counting the economic personnel, there are 400 doctors and 1,500 nurses working in them. The sanatoriums are located over an area ranging from the Far East to the North Caucasus and the Crimea in addition to Central Committee dachas on the territory of Moscow in the Silver Forest and area immediately adjacent to Moscow (they accommodate 1,800 families and cost R97 million). Let us also add the Central Committee polyclinic together with a hospital with 500 beds. And the luxurious "Oktyabrskiy" hotel complex on Dmitrov Street with two branches... And the just as exemplary "Solnyshko" kindergarten with 450 places... Yes, we have also forgotten the CPSU Central Committee educational establishments—the Academy of Social Sciences, the institute of modern political problems, the political enlightenment centers, and so forth, which the Moscow Soviet conference simply had no time to mention, and documentation for them has remained sealed in the Central Committee building on Staraya Square.

Actually, even what has been listed above was enough for its new owners to take many weeks to list it all. Although it is clear to Yu. Luzhkov and the members of the Moscow government that:

—The institute of modern political problems will be expropriated and the Russian humanitarian university, until recently the historical archive institute (the rector is Yu. Afanasyev) will be housed there.

—The Lenin museum on Red Square will move—preferably to the "museum of Russian revolutions" which the city authorities intend to create in the future.

The buildings of the Lenin museum and the present institute of political problems were taken from Moscow by the communist party. So these houses are being returned to their lawful owners.

—By an agreement between the Moscow municipal council and M. Gorbachev, the "Oktyabrskiy" hotel complex will be used primarily to received honored guests of the city and official delegations. When there are none of these the rooms will be let for currency or "good rubles." Here the new city hotels will join the autonomous Moscow hotel facilities independent of the "mongrel" facilities (to use Luzhkov's words).

—The same aim—creating structures which can compete with the present monopolists—is pursued in the use of the CPSU Central Committee vehicle base. It will vie with Passenger Transport [Legtrans] enterprises in the personal servicing of wealthy Soviet people and foreigners.

—Thousands and thousands of Muscovites will be able to "vacation in style" in the communist party's former sanatoriums. Here the private houses and dachas in the Moscow region will be placed at the serve of the social security organizations. They will start to distribute vouchers for the sanatoriums and rest homes outside the capital's limits on the basis of the principle that the badly off, those who have been honored, and people "on benefit" should receive subsidies from the municipal council while those who like the good life and people who are simply well off should not receive any subsidy and should make a large payment.

—The Central Committee publishing houses and printing plants in Moscow must, by the government decision, print everything "which is essential to the clients" and without any political selection of publications. The right to possess each enterprise will be decided individually—to see whether they remain the property of the CPSU or change owner.

—The fate of the main buildings of the CPSU Central Committee has not yet been decided. So far the Moscow government considers it its duty to carefully preserve them and maintain them in a serviceable state, even at its own expense.

—In the very near future the Moscow municipal council and government will resolve the question of the payment of wages or layoff awards for the numerous personnel of party buildings and enterprises. Incidentally, the "victims" of the expropriation of CPSU property have also included the country's president, Mikhail Gorbachev, who also received his salary at the CPSU Central Committee cash office. And he is now unpaid.

Central Committee Department Heads Issue Appeal

914B0343A Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian No 34, 24 Aug 91 p 3

[Appeal by CPSU Central Committee department heads V. Babichev, A. Degtyarev, and V. Mikhailov: "To Our Party Comrades"]

[Text] **The higher party leadership became confused and took a wait-and-see attitude, thus disorienting rank- and-file communists (those who stained themselves by participation in the plot are a separate topic). There were, however, those among the Central Committee members who understood that it was impermissible to keep silent and bide their time. Through the thickets of censorship, they tried to establish contact with local organizations and save the honor of the party.**

Party Comrades!

We appeal to you in the hour of severe ordeal. The historic fate of the country and the fate of our party depend on how it will be overcome. We are compelled to do this because the Secretariat and the Politburo still have not expressed their point of view.

This is hard to understand since the events that unfolded during the last few days were initiated without any participation on the part of the CPSU leadership bodies. The party that started perestroyka firmly declared its adherence to the principles of democracy, the law-based state, respect for the Constitution, and the national laws. It unwaveringly followed them during the last few years even when it was not reaping any political benefits from it. The adherence to these principles was recently reaffirmed in the draft of the new CPSU Program approved by the Central Committee Plenum.

We believe that with all the complexity of the economic and political situation in the country, the opportunities for finding a way out of the crisis through consistent constitutional means have not been exhausted. Any other way leads inevitably to civil war. Today, thanks to great restraint on the part of the people, it has not broken out yet. Our call is to immediately convene an extraordinary Congress of USSR people's deputies in order to overcome this most acute political crisis.

The situation demands that a Central Committee Plenum be called immediately. Since Moscow is under a state of emergency, it can take place in another city in the union. We insist that the plenum be conducted only with the participation of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, M.S. Gorbachev.

We ask the Central Committee members, party organizations, and communists who share this position to confirm their agreement by sending telegrams to the Central Committee.

Call To Inform on Putsch Supporters Denounced

PM3008102091 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Aug 91 Union Edition p 4

[Article by S. Guk: "We Shall Manage Without Denunciations"]

[Text] Say what you like, there is a nasty smell from the call to citizens issued by the Russian television program "Vesti" on behalf of a group of people's deputies: That they report by "contact telephone" who knows something about the putschists. Obviously, even without that we have enough official and unofficial informers, although through the efforts of the KGB this asset has proliferated abundantly in our fatherland.

I think none of my decent, self-respecting fellow citizens, who still make up the majority, will conceal plotters in cellars or lumber-rooms or shield them. So that appealing to baser feelings is superfluous: There are already enough individuals who sat out the alarming days in safety and now when no one is threatened by anything any more are rushing to prove their loyalty to the winners by a simple and accessible method: removing monuments, making obscene graffiti on walls, or shouting bitterly that their enemies should be dragged out into the light. Is all that not enough?

Is it not clear that the appeal is inspiring primarily those who like to settle their personal accounts at the hands of the state organs (normal people will do their duty as they did during the days of the putsch)? Settle accounts with the owner of the dacha or kitchen garden plot next to theirs, with a successful colleague at work, with a boss who has "done them a bad turn." And who can guarantee that there will be no little boy whom a stern parent has mercilessly thrashed the day before for speculating in imported cigarettes and who, shedding tears of spite, will rush to the telephone to fulfill his "civic duty": to report that his pop is a secret putschist and that his mom has also let him down and has been seen to have links with the junta? Have we not had such examples in our history?

Reasons for Kruchina Suicide Considered

914B0352A Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Aug p 1

[Article by A. Milkus: "The Death of N. Kruchina"]

[Text] CPSU Central Committee Administrator of Affairs Nikolay Yefimovich Kruchina jumped off the balcony of his apartment on the fifth floor of a splendid house on Plotnikov Lane, at 0500 yesterday. As an employee of Moscow's Leninskiy Rayon procurator's office said, N.Ye. Kruchina left a suicide note in which he stated that he had lived his life honestly, and did not consider himself a criminal. He also assured Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev of his devotion. At the same time, the decedent acknowledged in the note that he did not have the strength to face the coming ordeal.

From the files of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA: N.Ye. Kruchina was born in 1928. In 1953, he graduated from the Azov and Black Sea Agricultural Institute. Subsequently, his was the regular career of a party functionary—from the first secretary of the Novocherkassk Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] City Committee to a deputy chief of the Department of Agriculture and the Food Industry of the CPSU Central Committee. He was CPSU Central Committee administrator of affairs from 1983 on. He suited Andropov, Chernenko, and Gorbachev alike in this key position at Old Square.

According to information obtained by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, a lot is unclear about the circumstances of N. Kruchina's death. Thus, the motives for the suicide are not completely known. What made this experienced and wise man sentence himself to capital punishment? Was it his complicity in the antistate coup on 19 August? However, no such reports have been received yet. At the procurator's office, they rather believe that such fatal "insurance" was associated with the fact that on Saturday, the building of the CPSU Central Committee was sealed, and Nikolay Yefimovich was afraid of facts which could have come up when his papers were examined. However, it is, once again, unknown what secrets rest in the archives of the CPSU Central Committee Administration of Affairs.

Yet, in the opinion of Kruchina's fellow workers, he was an impulsive and emotional man. It is quite possible that the events of last week simply affected him that way.

'Did He Know Too Much?'

914B0352B Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Aug 91 p 2

[Article by S. Sokolov: "Did He Know Too Much?"]

[Text] CPSU Central Committee Administrator of Affairs N. Kruchina, who committed suicide, had recently stated that the CPSU did not have deposits abroad, and that in the Soviet Union, only 5 billion rubles [R] were deposited in party accounts. Actually, he controlled the financial operations of the party in their entirety.

This is how the chief of the Main Administration of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Central Bank for Moscow Konstantin Shor commented on this tragic death: "I think that this happened because he knew too much."

In the process, the situation with the CPSU bank accounts is such that most probably nothing plain will be learned about the financial operations of highly-placed Communists. A telephone message "on suspending operations involving the disbursement of funds from the accounts of the organs and organizations of the RSFSR Communist Party until special instructions are issued" was sent to all banks on the territory of the RSFSR as late as yesterday. If we take into account the fact that Yeltsin's ukase on "arresting" these accounts was issued on 23 August, in this manner the financiers of the Russian Communist Party were given two full days as a gift in order to prepare for the coming adversity. The CPSU was also in luck because its numerous accounts were tucked away in state and commercial banks registered by the USSR State Bank. Chief accountant of the USSR State Bank S. Kotelnikov announced that operations on CPSU accounts in the system of their bank had not been frozen, and that the bank board had not considered this issue yet. Can you imagine the enormity of this present to the CPSU? Incidentally, the accounts of the united party committees of the KGB and the USSR Ministry of Defense are also located at this bank.

Therefore, as accountants say, let us "draw up a balance sheet": Apparently, the CPSU is now successfully rescuing and laundering what, in essence, is our money which the top echelons of the party never cared to count.

Commentary Sees 'Catastrophe' in Redrawn Borders

PM2908140491 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Aug 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report by Yu. Orlik: "Redefining Borders Threatens Catastrophe"]

[Text] Anxiety over current events is indicated not only in Mikhail Gorbachev's statement that he will stand down if the Union is not preserved as a single state. The Ukrainian and Moldovan declarations of state independence, preparations for this move by other republics, and the swift rise of centrifugal tendencies have created an extraordinarily dangerous situation in the country. This flight from a Union which has preserved the hallmarks of an empire from the time of its creation to the present day can be explained. The three-day putsch organized in the center convinced republics of their defenselessness.

That is why they are taking decisions to form national guard detachments. And the Ukraine is to bring all military formations stationed on its territory under its own jurisdiction.

Hot on the heels of these decisions, the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] president's press secretary issued a statement saying that in the event of the discontinuation of alliance relations the RSFSR reserves the right to raise the question of border revisions. The statement stresses that this refers to all contiguous republics with the exception of the three Baltic republics.

Fears are strengthening that Russia, as the savior of democracy in the country, will exercise its right as the victor to claim domination. "Territorial claims are very dangerous"—this is Leonid Kravchuk's instant reaction to the statement of the RSFSR president's press secretary. And he adds that Boris Yeltsin—in a conversation with him—promised to clarify the matter.

At the same time, explaining the decision to subordinate all military formations stationed on the Ukraine's territory to its Supreme Soviet, L. Kravchuk noted that so far this is only a political decision. A Ukrainian defense minister will be appointed, and a commission will be set up which will enter into negotiations with the USSR Defense Ministry in order to elaborate its military competence.

Meanwhile a meeting is going on between M. Gorbachev, B. Yeltsin, N. Nazarbayev, and A. Akayev. A. Yakovlev is present. The meeting participants are confirming their commitment to the Novo-Ogarevo Process and talking about the need to sign the Union Treaty with due account of the new political situation. B. Yeltsin and N. Nazarbayev express a common view on preserving a single Union army as the guarantor of the security of sovereign states linked by alliance relations.

How should we appraise current events—in the heat of the moment, instantaneously, when the landslide of events renders every line which is written irrelevant before it even leaves the press? It became clear long ago that the indestructible Union was a myth. The present day merely confirmed this. But we should not celebrate the beginning of the end of a state whose history cannot be reduced to the 73 post-October years. We may all perish under the debris. The country's supreme authority and its president could have prevented the Union's collapse. It was obvious that it could not be preserved in its former shape as far back as 1989, at the time of the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies. Remember Andrey Dmitriyevich Sakharov's speech. Because they dismissed the "parade of sovereignties" they got a "parade of secessions." They delayed the signing of the Novo-Ogarevo agreements—lifelines in their day, but obsolete in many ways now. Nevertheless, we must go back to them. The Union treaty requires fundamental revision, but should we discard it altogether? It is impossible to start from scratch—we will not succeed in building anything. A federation, confederation, community—call it what you like. If you want to leave—leave. There is no need to run away. Yes, there is a fire in our home. We must put it out. With water not just from the Volga, but from the Dnepr and the Dnestr too. The main thing now is to refrain from entering into a period of border redefinition. This will lead to civil war.

I will remind you that the most recent treaties—concluded between republics without central participation—assumed that they would all remain in the Union and had no territorial claims against each other.

We risk losing control of the country. Let us think about this. There is no Cabinet of Ministers. Even today, the country's Supreme Soviet—after all it has been through—is being slow to adopt decisions to save the country: Instead, it is hearing deputies' statements on personal loyalty and damning the putschists. The first thing that it should have done was to form a provisional government of confidence and state, economic, and defense organs of administration based on representations from all republics.

Media & Journalism

PRAVDA Protests Closure, Seeks Independence

914B0346A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 27 Aug 91 p 2

[Letter from the newspaper PRAVDA to USSR President M.S. Gorbachev and RSFSR President B.N. Yeltsin, and unattributed SELSKAYA ZHIZN report: "PRAVDA Colleagues Decide"]

[Text]

To Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, President of the USSR and General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and to Comrade B.N. Yeltsin, President of the RSFSR

We resolutely protest the accusations directed against the staff of the newspaper PRAVDA and other mass media as stated in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] presidential ukase "On the Activity of TASS, the NOVOSTI Information Agency, and a Number of Newspapers To Disinform the Population and the World Community on Events in the Country" of 22 August 1991, accusing them of aiding and abetting the criminal group which attempted to seize power. We were obligated to publish the ukases of the so-called SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] and we do not have the right to verify the veracity of such information. PRAVDA did not publish materials directly supporting the SCSE.

The provisional closing of a number of mass media and alteration of their chain of subordination are not in compliance with the Union laws on property, on the press, and other mass media.

We request that you repeal the aforementioned ukase, taking into account the fact that the emergency situation in which it was issued today no longer exists. **Collective of the Newspaper PRAVDA**

23 August 1991

PRAVDA Colleagues Decide

Yesterday a meeting of editorial staff of the newspaper PRAVDA took place. An editorial council was elected which provisionally took upon itself the functions of editorial board. A decision was made to the effect that the collective become the founder of its newspaper. Application was submitted for its registration as an independent newspaper of civil accord.

Seleznev Cited on PRAVDA Collective's Plans

PM2908145391 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Aug 91 p 1

["Own Information" report: "They Will Probably Publish the Next Day, as Ever..."]

[Text] As G. Seleznev, first deputy chief editor of PRAVDA, has told our correspondent, a general editorial meeting has been held at the newspaper. It has been decided that the journalists' collective will have the status of founders of PRAVDA. Even though PRAVDA staff consider the well-known decree to suspend publication of the newspaper undemocratic and unconstitutional, they prefer to act by legal means. That is why the journalists have decided to reregister their newspaper and an accord has been reached to that effect at a meeting with M. Poltoranin, RSFSR minister of the press information. It was agreed that no one will seal the PRAVDA offices.

The newspaper will retain its name, will be the legal successor to PRAVDA, and, according to Seleznev, will soon reach readers but in a new capacity.

The ministry has proposed a large reduction in the number of PRAVDA's staff. Great financial and material problems have arisen and consequently PRAVDA has recently been subsidized by the CPSU Central Committee, whose accounts have now been frozen. The newspaper will continue to be printed at the PRAVDA Publishing House but on the basis of an equal (with other newspapers) contract.

As the newspaper was being prepared for press, we received a report that the Khoroshevskiy executive committee had demanded that the wives and children of PRAVDA staff leave the "Serebryanyy bor" leisure center without delay.

Commentary Views 'Unclear' Future of PRAVDA

LD2908160891 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 28 Aug 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The future of PRAVDA, once the most important newspaper, remains, as before, unclear. Here is a report by our correspondent:

[Begin recording] [A. Baykov] At the demand of the workforce, the gold letters which once proudly announced "Printing plant of the Vladimir Ilyich Lenin PRAVDA newspaper" were today dismantled. This fact, as they say, requires no comment. The mood among the paper's workforce itself is different. An event has taken place in the workforce, and a significant one. A new editor in chief of the paper has been elected. He is Gennadiy Nikolayevich Seleznev.

The Russian president's decree remains in force. Some of PRAVDA's premises are sealed up, but tomorrow PRAVDA workers intend to submit documents to the Russian information minister in order to re-register, and they reckon that they will be able to come out as early as Saturday. The slogan "Proletariats of all countries, unite" will be replaced by: "A newspaper of civil accord." The workforce has decided that PRAVDA will be independent.

[Seleznev] The most important thing I would like to say to viewers is that at PRAVDA there is not a single journalist who, in a publication, supported, approved of, or praised the activity of the State Committee on the State of Emergency. This is slander against us.

[Baykov] How is one to understand this? We all remember the PRAVDA article "Days of the Putsch," and how is one to regard the fact that a journalist expelled from the creative union for having discredited himself through participation in political actions and cooperation with the putsch organizers, has been elected editor in chief? And yet, Vesti voices the hope that the new PRAVDA can indeed become a paper of civil accord.

PRAVDA To Return to Newsstands 31 Aug

LD2908183391 Moscow TASS in English 1727 GMT 29 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent V. Zenkovich]

[Text] Moscow August 29 TASS—The Russian Ministry of the Press and Mass Information on Thursday registered former Soviet Communist Party daily PRAVDA which is now run by the newspaper's journalistic organisation. The first issue of the newspaper will come out on August 31.

Gennadiy Seleznev, the new editor-in-chief of the newspaper, said it will be independent from political structures and denied rumors that PRAVDA will be published under a different name.

He said Mikhail Poltoranin, Russian minister of the press and information, did not even raise this question.

Banned Newspapers' Staffs on Repealing Bans

PM2908101991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Aug 91 Union Edition p 4

[Report by V. Livshin: "After Newspapers' Closure: 'Appeal to Democrats' and Protests"]

[Text] In IZVESTIYA No. 202 V. Nadein commented on RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] President B. Yeltsin's decree on the temporary suspension of the publication of a number of CPSU publications and cited the opinions of the editors of democratic newspapers. Today representatives of publications which have been closed and are subject to reorganization are given their say.

Anatoliy Yurkov, chief editor of RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA: We expect the ban on our newspaper's publication to be lifted—I do not think we have deserved it. We want to make its labor collective and the Scientific-Industrial Union the inaugurators of NARODNAYA TRIBUNA (as the newspaper will henceforth be called). We see the main line of the renewed publication in the social protection of the working people. The newspaper will manage without party subsidies: The Soviet-U.S. "Panorama" joint venture, which is engaged in introducing new technologies in paper production, will play its part. And in the meanwhile we are preparing a fresh issue every day and waiting to meet with our readers. They cannot be separated for long from a newspaper with a print run of 1 million copies.

Valentin Chikin, chief editor of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA: I have not resigned. Yesterday there was a meeting of the editorial office's labor collective. It adopted an appeal to the extraordinary session of the USSR Supreme Soviet and to M.S. Gorbachev and B.N. Yeltsin. I quote: "We believe that the suspension of the newspaper's publication citing article five of the USSR law on the press is unjustified in this case since neither during those three days nor previously did the newspaper call for anticonstitutional actions, the forcible overthrow of the legitimate organs of power, or any other "illegal actions." The meeting also decided to halt the CPSU Central Committee's founder status—that function could be assumed by the labor collective.

Larisa Teselkina, chairman of the LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA journalists' initiative group: We have become too accustomed to orders from above and that is why during the days of the putsch we were not ready to rebuff it. Nonetheless the newspaper's closure is too much. But this shock has forced us to take a new look at many things. Beginning with the newspaper's name—we want to change it to MOSKOVIYA. But the main thing is that, having freed ourselves from party diktat, we should become closer to the reader at large. The editorial office labor collective and its cofounders, two respectable firms, will be able to embark on the fulfillment of this task as soon as we are registered at the Russian Ministry of the Press and Mass Media.

Shod Muladzhanov, chairman of the MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA trade union committee: We have traveled the same path. But to avoid confusing our permanent subscribers (we have about 400,000) we shall not change the paper's name before the end of the year. We shall elect a new leadership for the newspaper. In my view the former editor, V. Lysenko, should not have been expelled from the USSR Journalists Union. We have many complaints about him, but to accuse of complicity with the putschists a man who came to Moscow only on 20 August and immediately stated his support for the country's constitutional leadership is going too far.

Yuriy Izyumov, chief editor of the newspaper GLASNOST: It is a paradox that first we were banned by the putschists and then by the democrats! The comrades from the Russian structures have many grievances with regard to us, but that is still not a pretext for closing down the publication. I asked USSR People's Deputies A. Denisov, R. Medvedev, and B. Oleynik, who are members of the "Glasnost" public council to convey our protest to the USSR and RSFSR presidents. Let our readers, among whom our substantial print run—350,000 copies!—would rapidly disperse judge whether GLASNOST is harmful or useful.

Gennadiy Seleznev, first deputy chief editor of PRAVDA: Yesterday the PRAVDA editorial collegium surrendered its powers. The members of the editorial council, myself included, visited the RSFSR Ministry of the Press and Mass Media. They agreed on PRAVDA's reregistration as an independent publication founded by the newspaper's journalists organization. The main thing now is to leave behind the former dogmatic positions, to rely on individually minded members of the collective, and to change the structure of the editorial office. It will also be difficult to overcome the crisis because the publishing house has not become our cofounder. The sooner the ban on PRAVDA's publication is lifted, the sooner we shall be able to begin searching for a new path toward the reader.

Gennadiy Shishkin, first deputy general director of TASS: Yesterday we had a stormy meeting. We discussed the plan to transform TASS into an independent joint-stock company of the open type. Its shareholders could be the mass media, the republics, and foreign agencies, while the labor collective could be the owner of the controlling package of shares. But so far the staffers (we have about 3,000 of them) have not reached an agreement.

Vladimir Tulinov, first deputy chairman of IAN: The sharp words in Yeltsin's decree on the role of IAN during the period of the putsch stung many of us. During those fatal three days our operational materials went abroad, helping to create an authentic impression of what was happening. There was an urgent need to reorganize the agency, but this could hardly be done in one or two days. We need a carefully considered replacement of the structure, which includes about 120 points abroad, and not a hasty report on the work that has been done. I would not like IAN to duplicate RIA and other information sources—glasnost presupposes pluralism in covering and analyzing events.

Pavel Gutiontov, secretary of the USSR Journalists Union, comments: I understand the logic of Yeltsin's decree: Once the fate of the CPSU had been decided, its publications should share that fate. Initially I gloated: It serves them right! But the closure of a newspaper—even on the most noble pretext—is pernicious. Assessing the actions of editors and journalists who went along with the putsch is another matter. We have begun to examine these cases and I am sure that these people will be expelled from our union.

Mikhail Poltoranin, RSFSR minister of the press and mass media, comments: We are not encroaching upon party publications, we are merely making them equal with the others. We are even prepared to subsidize former communist newspapers which will find things difficult initially without their usual CPSU subsidies. But the ministry has no intention of artificially keeping afloat for years publications which enjoy no demand among readers. Let them organize joint-stock companies and seek sponsors. For a start we shall also help staffers left without work—and I think there will be many of those, especially on PRAVDA. I worked there and I remember how many ideological supervisors fill the floors of that monster. Now the CPSU publications will have to move over, to give way to the journalists of newspapers representing other parties and movements. Without all this shock therapy many publications could again become the accomplices of a new putsch.

Caution Urged Toward Former Party Newspapers

PM3008084891 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 29 Aug 91 p 1

[Article by Irina Khankhasayeva: "The Press. It Is Understandable Why They Are in a Hurry. But Why Should We Rush?]

[Text] I am referring to the events in the newspaper world. And they are such that it is hard to keep pace with them, or to recover from one surprise before the next one comes up. A few days ago at a meeting in the editorial office of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, the newspaper of the Russian Communists, its former chief editor Valentin Chikin tried to persuade himself and his colleagues that the newspaper's sole mission in general, and during the days of the putsch in particular, was directed at forestalling civil war. And that those materials which were of a clearly "inflammatory" nature were allegedly published especially to warn readers about the danger from right-wing reactionaries. No less!

Do you recall Alkhen, the bashful manager of the almshouse in the "Twelve Chairs?" A first-class thief... Whenever, during the whole of the past year, you looked at the masthead of RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, the CPSU Central Committee publication, presenting itself as the "newspaper devoted to the social protection of the working people," you were reminded of that selfsame bashful Alkhen. And I am afraid, you will continue to be reminded of him in the future. The editorial office of the former party publication—which managed, at the time, to grab the entire property of SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA after it was closed down for its progressive views—after recovering from a certain fright and regaining its composure, is beginning to look for sponsors who will help it become an independent publication.

And as for MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA—it has issued its No. 1 edition yesterday, starting a new life! With a clean sheet! As if nothing had happened—no treason, no rabid hatred against the mounting changes in Russia, no slavish subservience to the Moscow Gorkom [city party committee]. They gathered together, the same old lineup, and instructed the trade union committee to establish the new MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, electing a new chief editor, Shod Muladzhanov, without delay, and introducing him to readers. By conviction he is a centrist, a supporter of the policy of common sense—this is how the old staffers of MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA introduced their new editor. Married. Fond of sport, movies, A. Platonov's prose, and Beatles music.

All that remains to be done is to clarify what a policy of common sense is, as Sh. Muladzhanov understands it. He himself knows it well! His entire career has been devoted to the implementation of this very policy—notably serving the strong! Not ideas, or principles, or the people, but those who are in power. There was a time when he assiduously served Grishin, and then Yeltsin, and subsequently equally assiduously Prokofyev. And now he will serve "freedom and independence!" Well done guys, you've certainly got it right!

The desk of the PRAVDA publishing house director Leontyev is littered with dozens of statements from the collectives of former party newspapers and journals. They all want freedom now, all are intending to become independent. But what about what they lived for in the past, what they wrote about, what they revered, and what they urged millions of people to support—what is to happen to all that? The greater the ease and speed with which certain publications renounce the past, the less trust they inspire.

Ultimately, in all this rush and confusion many mistakes are bound to be made, among other things in the distribution of property of which, incidentally, there is quite a lot. At SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, rumor has it, people are walking away with anything that can be carried. They are even cutting off telephone receivers. But there is an even more serious threat. Under cover of the noise and confusion those who are smarter, sharper, and quicker off the mark are also trying to feather their nests.

At the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Ministry of Education a draft order has already been compiled about the transfer to its jurisdiction of UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA which used to belong to the CPSU Central Committee. Everything seems perfectly in order at first glance. But only at first glance...

Two and a half years ago UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA was crushed and forcibly, gangster-fashion, subordinated to the CPSU Central Committee. This incident shook democratic press circles in the capital at the time. However, publication of all information about the fate of UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA was banned.

And who came forward to implement the party's instructions to crush the unruly newspaper? Who agreed readily to take up the seat while it was still "warm" of UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA's editor, who was still alive then? It was Seleznev, the selfsame Seleznev who ended up at the helm of PRAVDA during the days of the unsuccessful coup. Matveyev, chief editor of UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA, who was removed from his post, is dead. Legally Seleznev is not accountable, of course. But what about his conscience?

Seleznev may have been ordered to do this... But the people who came with him backed the wrong cause voluntarily. One of them, the current first deputy chief editor Misyuchenko, "walked into" this attractive post from the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences. And it was at his prompting that the newspaper was filled with articles by leading figures of the Russian Communist Party. The entire present leadership of UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA was confirmed by the CPSU Central Committee. It is essentially these people who are deciding the fate of the newspaper at the moment!

It may be that the UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA staffers do not know yet that the RSFSR Ministry of Education has its eye on the newspaper, maybe there is no unity among them on this point, but they have already published a statement in which they are, of course, declaring that they are an independent publication.

Every line of this statement is immoral and false, just like the majority of the articles which have appeared in UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA over the past two and a half years. In the days when all honest people were lamenting the events in Vilnius, UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA wrote: "Democracy was not under fire, because there was no democracy in the Baltic republics." It is embarrassing to watch present staffers of UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA hypocritically swearing loyalty to democracy, feverishly renouncing the past, and pettily reporting on other publications. PIONERSKAYA PRAVDA, for example. Shameful! And this newspaper, these people will now be allowed to become an independent pedagogical publication? A newspaper which by dint of its professional specialization molds the outlook of tens of thousands of teachers and millions of pupils? The strategy of public education is too serious a sphere to have its leadership entrusted to people from the CPSU Central Committee and the Russian Communist Party. This is a bomb placed under democracy!

However, the very idea of transferring the newspaper to the jurisdiction of a single department is causing concern, despite all our respect for the RSFSR Ministry of Education. Newspapers cannot and must not be under the jurisdiction of sector departments. This is a lesson which we should have learned by now.

The detailed history of UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA which we have recounted here is merely an example of how dangerous it is to rush. The fate of every publication which is subject to reregistration or reorganizaton should be decided with much consideration, wisely, and without haste. We must not allow ourselves to be made to dance to the tune of those publications which are currently trying to save their skin. Nor must this process be allowed to drift. State interests—both those of Russia and the country as a whole—must be the main criterion. And for this purpose a highly competent commission must be set up, made up of state and public figures and parliamentarians who will, taking account of a multitude of circumstances, and on the basis of exhaustive information, draw up their recommendations as to the fate of RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, SELSKAYA ZHIZN, UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA, and all the other countless party publications.

TRUD Editors on Removal of Restrictions

914A1112C Moscow TRUD in Russian 22 Aug 91 p 1

[Unattributed report: "And Glasnost Has Won"]

[Text] Last night the editors received information through TASS channels that restrictions imposed by the decisions of former SCSE [State Committee on the State of Emergency] of 19 August in regard to publication of central, Moscow, city, and oblast sociopolitical publications have been lifted.

We sincerely congratulate our colleagues on the reinstatement of publication of all newspapers—from rayon papers to such popular publications as KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA, and many others, and of television and radio programs.

As is known, the SCSE had not dared to suspend the publication of TRUD—the most widely circulated newspaper of working people. During these difficult days that had been extremely critical for the fate of the country, our newspaper was striving to do everything possible to cover events honestly and objectively, to combat the open attempt to turn society back, and to strike out the democratic achievements of perestroyka.

We, as well as the press of the entire country, continue our work—in the name of millions of our readers, and in the name of truth.

Vinogradov Appointed IAN General Director

PM2908152891 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Aug 91 Single Edition p 1

[Report from TASS, RIA roundup under the general headline: "Telegraph Line"]

[Text] Moscow—RIA President A. Vinogradov has been appointed general director of IAN by order of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic minister for the press and mass information.

Aleksandr Yakovlev Comments on Role of Media

LD2908190991 Moscow TASS in English 1852 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 29 TASS—Prominent Soviet politician Aleksandr Yakovlev, speaking today in TASS, declared for full independence of the press. He presented the new general director of TASS NEWS AGENCY Vitaliy Ignatenko. He said it is necessary "to keep up with events so that our democracy should not be led astray, so that this great victory should not turn into a defeat".

Yakovlev said that "August 21 was not only a political but also a moral revolution. This day should become a national holiday of our country".

Yakovlev said that it is impermissible to search for enemies and to hound the press, "the way the democratic press was hounded". "This should not be done in a democratic, pluralistic society, or we may slide again to the monopoly of power, to uniformity of opinion, and we shall not get anywhere with this approach".

In this connection Yakovlev said that "work collectives should decide what tendency a newspaper should have, how it should work, at what readership it should be oriented". Regarding the ban on a number of publications, he said that the closure of newspapers "was not a most serious step".

Yakovlev believes that prior to the putsch, effort was made "to compromise leaders of the democratic movement, lies were spread and the entire group of people who specialise in hounding democratic forces became very active".

Regarding the role of the CPSU in the abortive coup, Yakovlev said that he feels "very sorry for the deceived rank-and-file communists who had neither privileges, nor authority, nor influence, but were simply working honestly, and now a shadow falls on them". This should not be so, he noted. Regarding prospects for the development of the Soviet state and the territorial issue that emerged in the country, Yakovlev emphasised that he is particularly concerned over the fact that unity of the USSR is "jeopardised.

TASS Reviews 30 Aug Soviet Central Press

LD3008064591 Moscow TASS in English 0635 GMT 30 Aug 91

["Soviet Press Review"—TASS Headline]

[Text] Moscow August 30 TASS—Today's press focuses on the special session of the Soviet parliament. "The future of our Union is becoming the dominant concern of most speakers in the discussion," the TRUD daily points out. "The activity of the emergency committee is viewed by deputies as a coup d'etat, and its creation and decrees as having no legal force from the moment of their adoption," the newspaper stresses.

The press reports that the parliament annulled the law of the USSR "on additional measures to stabilize the country's economic, social and political life in the country", expressed no confidence in the collegium of the USSR procurator-general's office, approved the resignation of USSR Procurator-General Nikolay Trubin, annulled the committee for coordinating the activity of law enforcement agencies under the Soviet president, suspended the activity of the Soviet Communist Party on the entire territory of the USSR and impeached former speaker Anatoliy Lukyanov.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR) publishes Russian President Boris Yeltsin's address broadcast by Radio Russia on August 29 under the title "Arbitrariness is Impermissible". "Our common duty is to preserve stability and peace in the country and avert civil confrontation. The coup agitated people, exacerbated many contradictions and inflamed passions. These are not to be allowed to dominate society and generate a tide of revenge and ruthlessness", the Russian president stressed.

The press reports that Boris Pankin was named as the new Soviet foreign minister and Vitaliy Ignatenko as the new general director of TASS, the Soviet official news agency.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA carries an interview with the new head of the news agency. Ignatenko says TASS will become an independent news agency devoted to honest journalism. "No instructions from above or orders from high-ranking officials will be taken into account. There are two principles—law and truth," Ignatenko said.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA also reports that A. Vinogradov, who headed the RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY, is appointed as the general director of the national NOVOSTI INFORMATION AGENCY.

President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan has issued a decree shutting down the Semipalatinsk nuclear testing site, TRUD reports.

The newspaper also carries a statement by the leaders of member- republics of the Russian Federation on their support of the Russian Federation as a single and indivisible state. The leaders of member-republics urge measures to stabilize the political situation in the country on the basis of the Union Treaty finalized with account taken of the latest developments.

The newspaper publishes reports on banning party activities within the group of the Soviet Defence Ministry's general inspectors and the funeral of Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev who committed suicide last Saturday.

"The vile and dumb experiment in violence and deception fell through," TRUD says in the rubric "The Echo of Appalling Days".

"We all are emerging from the dungeons into which we were hurled without investigation, trial and sentence".

Most newspapers carry reports about reaction to the recent tragic events in the Soviet Union connected with the botched coup.

"To revive the Army's prestige" is the aim of the new Soviet defence minister Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov voiced in an interview with KRASNAYA ZVEZDA. "The Army cannot and must not be used as an arena for party political confrontation, or a tool to satisfy someone's ambitions," the marshal says. According to Shaposhnikov, transformation of the Armed Forces will continue within the framework of radical military reform along the lines of professionalism, quality, democratization and sufficiency.

The newspaper reports that the Soviet booster rocket Vostok launched an Indian satellite, IRS-1B, into space and discusses aspects of Soviet-Indian cooperation in space exploration.

SELSKAYA ZHIZN (COUNTRY LIFE) voices concern over the fate of this year's harvest, the low rate of gathering in the crops, which threatens immense losses. Grains and potatoes are in the focus. The newspaper says that of the total 121.5 million tonnes of grain nearly 100 million tonnes still remain in the open on the collective and state farms. Russia's Deputy Minister of Agriculture and Food V. Belchenko complains of the scarcity of material resources for the agro-industrial complex and describes difficulties in supplying machinery to collective and state farms and individual farmers.

Market economy problems are discussed in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA by the USSR Minister for Economics and Prognostics Yevgeniy Saburov. He says the objective of all reforms is the creation of a powerful private sector enabling the entire national economy to operate on a market basis.

"The actual value of the rouble is plummeting catastrophically, but still there is a chance of curing the finances," economist V. Perlamutrov says in a polemic article published in TRUD.

"The rouble - yes official arbitrariness - no ", is a heading in RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, under which the newspaper summarizes the views on ways of the country's further economic development uttered by Yuriy Chernichenko, the leader of the Russian Peasant Party, lawyer Aleksandr Yakovlev, President Pavel Bunich of Union of Soviet Lease- Holders and Entrepreneurs, Leningrad Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak and Vice President of Reaserch-and-Industrial Union of the USSR Aleksandr Vladislavlev.

On their international news pages, newspapers carry reports about events in Yugoslavia and other hot spots around the world, as well as reaction to the recent developments in the Soviet Union.

Economics

USSR Foreign Economic Bank Resumes Operation

LD2908122791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1052 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, 29 Aug (TASS)—The heads of the Central Bank, Ministry of Finance, and Vneshtorgbank [Foreign Trade Bank] of the RSFSR have announced that on 28 August they gave their agreement to the USSR Vneshekonombank [Foreign Economic Bank] for carrying out the financial and foreign currency operations and operations involving precious metals and stones provided for in its charter. This decision was taken in execution of the Russian Federation president's instruction of 25 August this year "on regulating the activity of financial bodies and banks on the territory of the RSFSR".

All Russia Commercial Bank Established

OW3008101391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0811 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The executive president of the influential Congress of Russian Entrepreneurs Gennadiy Semigin told reporters in Moscow on Wednesday the Congress set up an All Russia Commercial Bank, the country's largest yet, with a starting capital of Rbl 1.5 bn and $1.5 bn. Its hard currency stake was increased six-fold because of widespread interest by western businessmen. Mr Semigin said the Russian government had offered Congress officials to attend and make proposals at its cabinet meetings.

Economy Management Group Holds First Meeting

OW2908205391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1845 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] [At] the first organisational meeting on Thursday of the Committee for the Management of the National Economy of the USSR, headed by Ivan Silayev, measures aimed at stabilising the economy, including the guarantee of food supplies, were discussed.

"Interfax" has learnt that representatives of all fifteen republics took part in the meeting.

It was noted that climatic conditions are the worst for ten years. Figures show that of the 85 million tons of grain due to be delivered to the state (the compulsory delivery) by the end of August, only 25 million have so far materialised. One reason for this is that collective farms have been waiting for the price of grain to rise and are hoarding their supplies.

In order to raise the material interest of rural workers it was decided to send the entire volume of consumer goods to be produced in the USSR in September, including cars, into the countryside. Many experts predict that this measure will meet with considerable opposition from the urban population who are already used to empty shelves in any case.

Participants also considered the country's state of readiness for winter. Supplies of coal and oil stand at 80 of the norm. Hopes for a "mild" winter are hardly justified since the last four winters have not been marked by severe cold.

Speaking at the meeting, the Committee's Deputy Leader, Arkadiy Volskiy, said that efforts should be concentrated on the stabilisation of industry, construction, transport and communications.

The head of the Bank of External Trade (Vnesheconombank), Y. Moskovskiy, reported on the state of the country's foreign trade balance and asked for confirmation that the status of Vnesheconombank would not be changed.

Committee Members Announced

OW3008095791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0811 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian prime minister, Mr Ivan Silayev, who is in charge of the Soviet Union's new economic management committee, has announced its line-up including representatives of 12 Soviet republics, but Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia will be involved as observers. Distribution of duties was also endorsed between Mr Silayev and his assistants to be in effect until a new central government is formed. Mr Silayev is expected to coordinate effort by the republican governments, and supervise the activity by the defence, foreign, interior and finance ministries as well as KGB. The president of the country's Science and Industry League, Arkadiy Volskiy, was put in charge of the industry, including defence-related plants, as well as transport, construction and communications. The vice mayor of Moscow Yuriy Luzhkov is made responsible for foreign and domestic trade, food supplies, and the country's agro-industrial complex. The country's radical economist Grigoriy Yavlinskiy is expected to work out the country's economic strategies and ways of integrating it within the world economy. Soviet ministries and departments are to be led provisionally by incumbent deputies in charge.

Economic Group To Be Coalition of 15 Republics

OW2808150991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1240 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The President of the USSR Union of Science and Industry Arkadiy Volskiy has told newsmen that it was agreed at a session of the Provisional Committee for the Economy last night to include representatives of all the 15 republics in this committee formed instead of the Soviet Cabinet dissolved by President Gorbachev. According to Volskiy, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia intend to participate as "active observers."

He said that on Wednesday President Gorbachev is to sign a decree relieving all ministers of the USSR Cabinet of their duties. Volskiy said that the duties of the dismissed ministers will be performed by their deputies who did not take part in the cabinet session on August 19 and did not support the State Emergency Committee.

The Russian Prime Minister Ivan Silayev will be in charge of general leadership. According to Volskiy, Silayev will also keep an eye on the KGB, Defence, Interior, and Foreign ministries, as well as the media. Volskiy was entrusted with industry, the defence complex, all means of transportation, construction, and communications.

Yuriy Luzhkov is responsible for foreign economic relations, food supplies, trade, agriculture, and related industries.

Grigoriy Yavlinskiy is to work out strategic directions of the economic reform and its speedy implementation, as Volskiy put it. Yavlinskiy will also be in charge of the foreign economic strategy aimed at the country's integration in the world economy.

NPS Asks EBRD To Form Emergency Aid Fund

OW2908171491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Thursday Aleksandr Vladislavlev, vice-president of the USSR Scientific and Industrial League (Russian acronym NPS), conferred in Moscow with a group of experts from the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development led by the bank's vice-president Mario Sarcinelly. The experts intend to work out recommendations for the bank's leaders who are to review the economic situation in the USSR next Tuesday.

Vladislavlev suggested that, in view of the critical state of affairs in the USSR whose economic management structure is in disarray, the bank should form an emergency fund in aid to the Soviet economy. The size of such a fund is to be determined by the bank itself.

Vladislavlev suggested that a group of 5 to 7 Soviet specialists plus 5 to 7 experts from the bank should be set up to monitor the use of the fund's money which will be kept abroad. The group should include world-known people whose reputations in the past few years have been impeccable.

According to the NPS leader, the joint group of experts is to work in Moscow, subordinate directly to the USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev.

New Union Economic Leaders Interviewed 27 Aug

PM2808100791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Aug 91 Union Edition pp 1-2

[Report by V. Romanyuk: "New People in Union Departments"]

[Text] It has become known that I.S. Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers and chairman of the committee for the operational administration of the country's national economy, in coordination with the USSR president has made a number of appointments to the most important union ministries and departments. We managed to link up with some of them 27 August.

We talked with Ye. Saburov, leader of the Russian Ministry of the Economy, in the morning immediately upon his arrival at the country's Ministry of the Economy.

"We are assuming the leadership of the union organ temporarily, until the solution of the question of union organs of power," Yevgeniy Fedorovich Saburov said. "What this organ will be like in the future depends on what the Union becomes. Our task today is to prevent disruptions in the national economy and the collapse of economic relations. As for the Ministry of the Economy itself under the conditions of the transitional period, we must, as the poet said, 'honestly and angrily take the young people to the wedding without fail.' The apparatus for the time being remains in place and work is continuing."

[IZVESTIYA] Not long before the putsch the Union Ministry of the Economy completed work on a concept for the republics' economic agreement for 1992. What next?

[Saburov] We attach great importance to its elaboration as we do to the Union treaty. But the new situation will also require the introduction of certain amendments to the economic agreement. [Saburov ends]

The day before, 26 August, Russian Trade Minister A. Khlystov had already managed to hold his first conference in the union Ministry of Trade. Work also continued 27 August. What are the new leadership's priority steps?

[Khlystov] First of all we are carrying out a stocktaking, so to speak, an inventory of the sizeable reserves which trade has, Aleksandr Fedorovich Khlystov reported. There are regions and hot spots which need immediate support. They are Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk, Khabarovsk, and several others.

[IZVESTIYA] What will happen to the USSR Ministry of Trade in the future?

[Khlystov] We are discussing this question. I believe that there will be no union Ministry of Trade, instead we intend to create a Committee, which will be part of the Ministry of the Economy, or an organ which will replace it. In general, under the conditions of the privatization of trade establishments, the functions of not only the union ministry but also of the republican ministries—at present powerful structures—will be curtailed. Here we do not intend to delay reorganization—it will take two or a maximum of three months. [Khlystov ends]

A. Zverev, Russian deputy minister of finances, began his career in the USSR Gosbank [State Bank] and knows finances well and perhaps that is why the choice fell on him when he was appointed temporarily as leader of the USSR Gosbank.

[Zverev] I view my functions as temporary, Andrey Viktorovich Zverev stressed during our talk. The structures of the Union Gosbank are continuing to operate as they did before. But of course a substantial reorganization of that department with a consideration for the new situation lies ahead. Today or tomorrow we will hold a meeting of the leaders of the republican banks. Russia's position on this question is well known, and we intend to defend it. Here, in the center, a council or association of the republics' central banks should function but the solution of basic questions has been transferred to the republican level. Many republics support us in this.

[IZVESTIYA] But there are laws on the USSR Gosbank and on banks and banking which include a different ideology.

[Zverev] No one has repealed these laws. But different approaches now operate which must be considered in the amendments which will enter into the laws themselves. [Zverev ends]

The first impression of Russia's young leaders on whom enormous responsibility now rests is that they are open and honest in conversation and not without a sense of humor. In seeing them on their way I.S. Silayev warned: When you are in the union departments, do not believe that you serve only Russia. No, you serve the Union.

The first steps of the new people confirm that that is the case. There is no talk of any usurping of power or of Russia's seizure of any "titbits." There is talk of saving the country's economy from collapse.

Economists Bunich, Petrakov on Immediate Needs

914A1127A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 28 Aug 91 pp 1-2

[Interview with USSR People's Deputies P.G. Bunich and N. Ya. Petrakov, economists, by SELSKAYA ZHIZN parliamentary correspondent V. Raskin: "Economics Outside of Politics"]

[Text] Of course I understand quite well that economics depends on politics. Moreover, the one is largely determined by the other. I conducted this interview in the foyer of the USSR Supreme Soviet where an emergency session of the country's parliament was in progress. Is there any need to mention how important the political issues being resolved here are? And, naturally, less is being said about economics, considerably less. But, after all, there is no way of escaping the truth of life, its reality. In his speech on Monday the USSR president reminded us once again of the problems with food, crops, and fuel. That was a statement of fact, but what are we to do? What is the solution? What do our eminent economists USSR People's Deputies P.G. Bunich and N.Ya. Petrakov think? I asked them to tell SELSKAYA ZHIZN readers about the food situation in the country. What is awaiting us: famine, cold? What should the cities do for the rural areas now to help them harvest and store the crops? A couple of words about the authors granting us this interview: They are world-recognized economists and are distinguished by their objective and sober predictions.

My first question was for Pavel Grigoryevich Bunich. Knowing that he intends to speak at the session on Tuesday, I asked him to answer a couple of brief questions.

[Raskin] When it comes to forming the Cabinet of Ministers or a government of national accord, will you be included in these new structures?

[Bunich] Nobody knows how this will all take shape but if I receive an offer I will not accept it. And the reason for this is purely personal. Because of my health, I do not feel I have the energy to carry the burden that will be required under the new government. But if the structure is a good one I will do everything within my power to help.

[Raskin] People are now talking a lot about political predictions and less about economic ones. What would be your comment on the state of affairs with respect to food in the country. And, perhaps, a somewhat broader question—the state of affairs in the economy.

[Bunich] I shall begin by answering the question about food. The situation here is terrible. Take grain. Let us say the harvest is 190 million tons. Let us not take comfort in the figures and percentages. For we will need 120 million, or, rather, 112 million, to feed the cities and the army and for animal husbandry. But our regions where grain is grown do not coincide with those where cattle are raised. Consequently, animal husbandry cannot be left without a feed base. This is the way it is with grain. We have now received about 25 million tons from the peasants. What are people to do? They are slaughtering the cattle because they know there will be no grain. In order to save the situation it is necessary to gather at least—I emphasize, at least—another 70 million tons of grain. But how? The peasants will not give anything away for free. In the rural areas they remember the reapportionment that took place way back in 1919. The peasants have a strong memory of this. Therefore, they will have to enter into barter transactions with the city. The city will have to "tighten its belt." They need to get hold of resources right away—television sets, rugs, whatever—to give to the rural areas, because otherwise they will have nothing to eat. These things must be given to the rural areas. And there is no other immediate means. There will be no emergency assistance.

Now the second aspect. I am speaking about the most important economic problem. Fuel! The situation with fuel is very bad. We will soon be left without electric energy. Oil extraction is declining. And the same kind of picture has begun to appear with respect to gas. The solution? The people who extract fuel must be given goods through barter. We must by no means forget about the miners. I would arrange them in this order: miners—in first place, petroleum workers—in second place, and gas workers—in third place. They must be given commodities. Otherwise we will get nothing. There is such an economic term as to strike without striking. Something like this is happening in the fuel industry.

[Raskin] Well, let us sum up this gloomy picture.

[Bunich] Well, I would put it this way. We have no reserves either of food or of fuel. We must look at life realistically. All that is left to us is an injection through barter. And I shall end this interview by discussing a third problem.

Housing. I do not believe that it is worthwhile to raise this problem. Because there will immediately be the problem of construction brick, and it is very energy-intensive. Very, very. Of course, we must build and we must solve the housing problem. But to place this problem on a par with the ones discussed above (food and fuel) is not realistic. This is what I have to say about the emergencies. We must live through this winter. And then, possibly, the NEP [New Economic Plan] will begin to work.

Let me tell the readers of SELSKAYA ZHIZN that if the "eight" putschists had won, we would have been swallowed up in the abyss for a hundred years. But since they lost, we have gained 20 years. It would have taken us 20 years to overcome them.

The second interview was granted by Nikolay Yakovlevich Petrakov. The first question I asked him was this:

[Raskin] They say that we had strategic reserves to last for 10 years in the event of a war. Is that true?

[Petrakov] That, of course, is a myth. If there had been any strategic reserves, Pavlov would have immediately thrown them into the stores at seven o'clock on the morning of 19 August. That is an old device of putschists. It was used in 1956 in Hungary. And during the notorious events in 1968. But then they had something to throw in. And now there is nothing. Absolutely. All the former prime minister's demagogy is shown in his statement that prices would decrease. That is the sheerest economic adventurism. And that is why I was completely certain that the putschists would fail. Nothing has ever been accomplished with "Kalashnikov automatics."

[Raskin] What is the solution? What should we do, particularly with the agricultural problem?

[Petrakov] I do not think that there is any supercatastrophe in agriculture. We are faced with our usual situation. With the addition of what Pavlov did to the monetary system—the peasants will not give anything for these rubles. Approximately the same situation existed in 1928. Now the question of product exchange arises. This must be organized somehow. Commodity supplies must be made available—agricultural equipment, fertilizers, household equipment, motorcycles, and passenger cars. Now we must sacrifice the city market supplies and extricate ourselves from the "food problem." As early as last year, in July, Ryzhkov raised procurement prices under the slogan—to motivate the peasants. But even then it was clear that rubles would not work. And state procurements decreased. The so-called market was flooded with money but we received no grain. At that time they were looking for a solution at all levels. This was also being done in the presidential council. It was difficult to find a solution in the dilapidated monetary system. Now there is a solution: barter. Such a beautiful word. Many people liked it.

The second variant is to recruit city residents. But not by Pavlov's means but on the basis of the shared participation of city dwellers in the harvest. In-kind payment. The work day on the modern level. But things must not be left to run themselves. The people need help with transportation. And the city authorities must organize premises where the people can store the products. Heated garages would be suitable for this. They have to make compartments, like the storage lockers in railroad stations.

[Raskin] In your responses you have already touched upon the subject of the ruble in one way or another.

[Petrakov] In order to conduct a policy of stabilization of the ruble, it would be possible to turn to the West for support. The ruble must be backed up by commodities in order to pump out the mass of money. The "blotter" method should be applied—economists and financial experts have such a term. Here I would concentrate on two points. We need both necessities and also, say, fashionable items, modern refrigerators, and equipment. Let the people have an incentive to earn money to pay for them.

And the second thing. We must focus attention on children's food. This is literally a catastrophe. For many years we helped veterans. And this, of course, is correct. But now we could lose generation after generation. A lost generation could grow up. Previously there were certain formulas but now the children's food sections of stores are simply empty. If a nursing mother loses her milk it is a catastrophe; what can she feed her child? If we cannot straighten this matter out for ourselves in the next couple of weeks we must appeal to the West.

[Raskin] What other steps would you suggest to extricate us from the economic crisis?

[Petrakov] I have already said repeatedly that we need special support for the private sector. The West will provide this kind of support. Businessmen believe in the market. They will put money into the private sector. It is not enough to permit private farming; it must also be supported. And you talk about the fact that there are practically no strong men left in the villages. I understand what is meant by this word. Over the years the masters of the land have lost their desire to be its master. But strong young men will appear. First, there will be modern machine operators. And we must not forget about city dwellers. Who would refuse to engage in this business if they were offered Western technology? If a good home were built for the new farmer on credit, but Western-style credit, it would be impossible to beat off all the people who would want to work under these new conditions. We must take advantage of the principle of delayed payment, which can be made with a share of the harvest. As the market is saturated, the farmer will return the funds taken out on credit. Do not give him a minitractor but give him equipment that will function reliably, for which he will not have to worry about spare parts.

[Raskin] And what kind of help could we journalists give here?

[Petrakov] We need publicity for the new way of life. And here you journalists, better than anyone else, can show people how to live better, how people should live, by telling about the new attitude toward work and what this gives the people.

We were just winding down our interview with Nikolay Yakovlevich when my colleagues—both Soviet and foreign correspondents—approached us, and they asked Petrakov some more questions. In particular, he discussed problems of the Union. One American journalist asked Nikolay Yakovlevich: "If, say, the Ukraine withdraws from the Union, will this complicate the economic reforms or not?"

[Petrakov] I do not think this would complicate them. Why? Problems of economic ties are now always being mixed up with politics. What has Gorbachev done all these months? He has been trying to gain political concessions from the republics in exchange for certain economic privileges. If you look at the text of the Union treaty, you will see that it contains very stringent economic sanctions against those who do not join the "Nine." But I think the concept should be this: It is necessary to unite around something in which all are interested. All are interested in economics. Political problems are more complicated: Some can be solved quickly while others take many months or perhaps even years. These include border questions, questions of the Russian-speaking population and national minorities on the territories of other republics. There is the question of the distribution and status of the armed forces. Let the politicians resolve these issues, whatever it takes. If they find a compromise—wonderful. If they do not—it is not so terrible. But an economic union—this is simply a necessity. After all, our economic ties among the republics are considerably closer than ties among countries in Europe are. Therefore we must give permission right now: Let Estonian capital be invested in Tyumen for the development of petroleum extraction; let Georgian capital be invested in Moscow. If it is advantageous, there should be no restrictions. Because national boundaries only hamper things here.

[Raskin] And what if there are different currencies?

[Petrakov] That would not be so bad. These currencies would be equated, say, to the Russian chervonets, and this rate would be equated to the rate of the dollar. And that would be the rate of the floating currency. I discussed this in MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in an issue that came out before the putsch. We must create a new monetary system according to the principle "15 plus 0."

[Raskin] Thank you for the interview.

Railroad, Power Industry Situation Updated

914B0341A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Aug 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report by V. Romanyuk: "Situation in Transportation and in the Power Industry as of 26 August"]

[Text] Railroad transportation is an indicator of the rhythm of the entire economy; its status permits the situation to be judged as a whole to a certain degree. USSR Deputy Minister of Railways A. Sidenko informed the editors that during the past week the rhythm of railroad trains had not been disrupted even for an hour. At the same time, the volume of cargo declared ready for shipment decreased. The coal situation is catastrophic. Since the beginning of August, 6.2 million tons had not been declared for shipment; as of 26

August, the coal producers have not requested 3,000 cars, which is equivalent to not delivering 210,000 tons of coal. For instance, Vorkutaugol requested only 120 wagons out of 680; the Kuzbass dropped requests for 700 cars, and Karaganda for 200 cars. Only the Kansk-Achinsk Basin works ahead of plan and even requested additional 1840 cars.

The metallurgists are experiencing acute shortages of coking coal. As of 25 August, they declared for shipment 352,000 tons of rolled iron less than planned; in comparison with last year's level, it is 2 million tons less. Also, as of this date, 3.5 million tons of iron ore less—in comparison with last year—is being shipped.

The rhythm of passenger transportation is kept within the norm. Passenger trains are formed at a rate of 5,400 a day at departure points. We need to bring children back from pioneer camps, get students back to school. There are problems in this area but they are, as they say, solvable.

How is the power industry doing? The Ministry of Power and Electrification informs us that all branches in the industry are working fine; the economy is supplied with heat and electricity in the normal manner.

The national power industry did not falter last week and avoided disruptions that could paralyze vitally important branches. For two days, Kuzbass miners were not shipping fuel, and two thermal-electric power stations in Vorkuta reduced output. Now the situation there is stabilized, too.

There is a point that needs to be taken into account, though. Generally, the demand for power is lower during the summer period; in addition, the volume of national industrial output has dropped. The situation may worsen tomorrow. The Far East has lower than normal fuel supplies; there is the same situation in Chita, the Ukraine, and other regions. Therefore, fuel conservation becomes a priority. There is a shortage of equipment for repairs, of boiler pipes, of wiring and posts for power lines construction (only 20 to 30 percent of the needs are met). The status of national economy as it enters the winter will depend in many respects on the resolution of these mundane problems.

As to the division of property and the transfer of power generating entities to the ownership of the republics, this is not going to disrupt the functioning of the industry as a single whole. So far, the operational centralized management remains in the hands of the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification, and the republics happily agree to this.

Paper Reports Western Views on Aid to USSR

U.S. Attitude Reported

91UF1104C Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Aug 91 Union Edition p 5

[A. Blinov report under the heading "The Country Needs Support": "G. Bush: Rapid Progress Toward Democracy"]

[Text] Washington—"We are observing rapid progress toward democracy and tremendous support for reforms reflecting the genuine wishes of the people" was how U.S. President G. Bush evaluated the news coming out of the USSR.

The head of the U.S. Administration is on vacation in Kennebunkport (Maine), but he is having to pronounce on the "Soviet subject" practically daily. It remains the main topic in the news summaries and in television and press comment and, to judge by the newspaper reports, in the intensive exchange of opinions which is being conducted between leading circles of the United States and other Western countries.

A question being discussed, THE WASHINGTON POST reports, is the possibility of a broadening of Western assistance to the Soviet Union in connection with the difficulties of the Soviet economy—according to the forecasts of foreign experts, they could be aggravated considerably this coming winter. Specifically, this will be discussed at next week's meeting in Kennebunkport between G. Bush and British Prime Minister J. Major.

Collective discussion of the question of assistance to the USSR between high-level representatives of the "Seven" is scheduled also. The initiative in respect to such a meeting was taken by J. Major, who is the current chairman of the "Seven."

"Pressure in support of the Soviet Union being granted additional assistance is being exerted against the background of charges, which the United States and Britain deny, that the coup attempt could have been avoided had the "Seven" been more ready to accommodate Gorbachev," the Saturday edition of THE WASHINGTON POST reports. This accusation, the newspapers observes, was made a few days ago by British opposition leader N. Kinnock. He declared, inter alia, that "the refusal of the world's most prosperous countries to respond to Gorbachev's repeated appeals for increased assistance played a part in the weakening of his positions."

Journalists covering G. Bush's stay in Kennebunkport sought his view on the possibility of the Soviet Union being granted not only technical, as now, but also financial assistance. "The United States' position is well known," the President said. "We want to help. Ultimately we will find a way to help with money. But before this we would like to see reforms in the USSR." As is clear from the President's words, Washington is awaiting the outcome of the reorganization of the directive structure in the USSR which is under way at this time. "We want to know with whom we will be dealing in the ministries," G. Bush declared.

G. Bush evaluated as a "welcome step" USSR President M.S. Gorbachev's decision to resign as general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Presidential Press Spokesman M. Fitzwater called this decision in a separate White House statement "one further step forward in the reform process."

Germany Links Aid, Reform

91UF1104B Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Aug 91 Union Edition p 5

[Ye. Bovkun report under the heading "The Country Needs Support": "Germany Is Making Available All That It Can"]

[Text] Bonn—The revolutionary events in Russia, which put an end to the bloody putsch of the Stalinists, have ushered in a new era of genuine democracy, but have not, of course, removed the economic crisis. Talk about this in Bonn began immediately. And practical industrialists, financiers, and politicians immediately asked: of what kind should the economic assistance to the Soviet Union be and where should it be addressed primarily—the center or the republics?

A vast country with millions inspired by the citizens' victory has found itself at "zero hour." Now, when the party-roster and ideological barriers are being cleared away, we can roll up our sleeves and finally begin to restore order to the economy. Germany is ready to assist. But the question arises: whom and how? German activists are proposing "zero hour" options.

This is currently the principal topic here. Conceptual projects have been prepared in the governing party (CDU/CSU) and in the opposition (SPD). They are largely similar. In the next few weeks FRG Finance Minister Theodor Waigel will go to Moscow to discuss the nature and forms of assistance at the new stage. But the Germans would like to raise this issue for discussion at international forums. After J. Delors, EEC chairman, had demanded the convening of a new meeting of the economic big "Seven," FRG Foreign Minister H.-D. Genscher proposed in addition two simultaneous conferences: one with the participation of the heads of state and government of East and Central Europe, the other, at the level of the seven industrially developed countries.

The Germans seriously intend to invite other Western partners to share with them the efforts to create market structures in the Soviet Union. Germany has already invested 60 billion Deutsche marks in aid to our country. It is not now capable of more financial giving. Similar injections in the Soviet economy, government circles in Bonn believe, should be made by the Japanese and the Americans. Germany could once again undertake such major spending on our behalf only on one condition, in particular, Moellemann, minister for economics of the FRG, explained: If as a result of the decisive actions of the supporters of reforms, the USSR begins emphatic integration in the world economy and its institutions.

But first, ministers and politicians have been telling me of late, there has to be a delineation of Union and republic jurisdiction in the Soviet Union. Yeltsin is advocating greater independence for the republics. Gorbachev personifies the central authorities. Which of them to support economically first and foremost?

Some industrialists (I had heard this earlier also) would prefer the preservation of the central structures, which in the past facilitated contacts with their Soviet partners (credit was always paid off on time) for them. The majority, however, argues thus: We need to assist where the ideological and party-roster barriers are disappearing more quickly.

Economic experts are convinced that it is the "lower units" of the Soviet economy—districts, cities and republics—which should receive assistance primarily, not an increasingly less manageable state which runs the risk of becoming a bottomless jar in respect to the absorption of foreign credit. There is one essential reservation, it is true. A prerequisite of assistance to the regions should be their competence and credit worthiness.

The federal government is now weighing the possibility of granting export-credit guarantees in deals with the USSR to surety not only of the Bank for Foreign Economic Relations, as was the case previously, but also of the central banks of the republics. It is altogether opposed to unsupervised assistance, monetary particularly. The money would be invested exclusively in specific projects which would serve to improve food supplies to the public and to develop the transportation system, modernize the service sphere, the ecologically more rational recovery of raw material and so forth.

The Germans are prepared to begin rendering us specific assistance after a separation of the jurisdiction of the center and the republics, but are reminding us here that the advantages of the market economy will not be reflected all at once, at the first stage. The train will be spinning its wheels for a long time to come on the beaten track of the planned economy: each component of the market could initially act as an inhibiting factor. It will be necessary to close down thousands of enterprises. Millions of people will be without work. The courage to overcome conflicts will be needed. A classical "mix" of components will be needed for the successful accomplishment of the transformation process: a modern two-tier banking system, currency convertibility, free prices, free business activity, privatization of all means of production and the free movement of capital, including the protection of foreign investments. This is the ABC of the market, and it will have to be assimilated not only in the center but in the outlying areas also.

The extent of the economic assistance will depend on the scale of the economic reforms.

French Note High Cost of Aid

91UF1104A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Aug 91 Union Edition p 5

[Yu. Kovalenko report under the heading "The Country Needs Support": "Paris: Rescuing the Soviet Economy Will Not Come Cheaply"]

[Text] Paris—Not long before to his trip to Moscow scheduled for the start of next month, Pierre Beregovoy, minister of Economy, Finance and the Budget of France, put forward a series of specific proposals aimed at rendering the Soviet Union assistance.

These were primarily our country's admission to the IMF and the World Bank, which France intends to support more firmly than ever. These two organizations alone, the minister emphasizes, could finance to the necessary extent the "rescue operations" which the USSR needs.

P. Beregovoy also proposed the lifting of all restrictions which pertain in the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) on the allocation of credit to Moscow. Hitherto this initiative of Paris had been blocked in the EBRD by Washington, but now, by all accounts, the Americans will agree to concessions.

Finally, the most important proposal concerns deferment of the payment of our external debt, which, the French estimate, runs to $70 billion. "Only in this way can the Soviet Union," the minister stressed, "resolve the problem of its balance of payments." There are several scenarios here. The most effective, the newspaper LE MONDE writes, is that the West agree to a reduction in the Soviet debt or, on the other hand, allocate new resources for streamlining the balance of payments.

Whereas French officials are as yet reluctant to cite the amount necessary to restore the Soviet economy, there are sufficiently precise calculations made by financial experts. Thus, specifically, Michel Develle, a director of the French Paribas investment bank, believes that the USSR will need a minimum of $15-20 billion annually merely to "keep afloat." To this figure, in his opinion, should be added a further $25 billion needed for restoration of the oil industry. As a whole, however, in order to effect a real transition to the market, the banker emphasizes, the country will need annual investments of $200 billion.

But who will pay, financial experts are asking. Rescue of the Soviet economy, the newspaper LE FIGARO points out, will be very costly for us, and for this reason the entire Western community should participate. Paris is reporting an appeal for aid which M.S. Gorbachev has just addressed to the EC. And the main role in political and economic relations could, to judge by the recent statements of political leaders, be performed by the Paris-Bonn axis.

Aid and reforms must now be more closely interrelated than ever, Western experts observe. Unless the USSR adopts the necessary measures for transition to the market, granting the country any kind of serious credit will be useless. Up to now all the reforms that Moscow has initiated have been insufficient and of a disorderly nature.

The Soviet Union must become a part of the world economic and financial system, LE MONDE writes, and only thus will it be able to lay a foundation for the reconstruction of the entire economy and solve its problems.

At the present time a most efficient method of emergence from the most profound crisis, French economists believe, is the attraction of foreign capital. A tremendous part could be played here not only by Western firms and companies but banks also. But the latter are displaying an exceptional and entirely understandable cautiousness.

It will take approximately five years of political stability and a correct economic policy, Paris' experts estimate, for confidence to be instilled in Western financiers and bankers that they are not throwing capital to the wind. Meanwhile, however, French credit granted to the Soviet Union declined in the past year from 40 billion to 29 billion francs.

Let us stop asking, LE MONDE writes, whom we should be helping: Gorbachev or Yeltsin. It is not a question of building policy by gambling on this figure or the other but of helping the democratic forces at Union, individual republic and municipality level. They should be helped to carry through the reforms which are so essential, and it is necessary, therefore, to allocate credit for specific projects, render specific technical assistance and train Soviet specialists in all spheres.

U.S. Experts Reconsider Soviet Aid Issue

91UF1104D Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Aug 91 Union Edition p 5

[A. Shalnev report under the heading "The Country Needs Support": "New Meeting of the Seven—With the Participation of M. Gorbachev and B. Yeltsin?"]

[Text] New York—Experts in the United States are unanimous: President G. Bush should be classed as one of those who has politically benefited the most from the failure of the coup d'etat in the Soviet Union.

How the President reacted to the development of events in our country, contriving to combine decisiveness with restraint, demonstrated that in foreign policy matters he has no equal—except, perhaps, for Nixon—among American presidents of recent decades. And there is no doubt that he has no equal in the camp of potential candidates for the presidency from the Democratic Party.

It is considered by no means fortuitous that Senator Albert Gore, who had been "eying" the presidency and who had always put among his principal attributes "extensive knowledge in the sphere of foreign policy," preferred to announce that he would not be running for president. He did so at the very time when it had become irreversibly clear that the putsch had been foiled and that Bush was the winner.

Now, when Bush has been the recipient of a public expression of gratitude from both Yeltsin and Gorbachev, the President of the United States is left virtually as the sole warrior in the field. Few people take seriously the Democrat Paul Tsongas, who has already announced his candidacy. Other candidates of substance, in any event, are hardly to be expected.

Much, however, will depend on whether President Bush's subsequent steps are as precisely calculated and sensible as those which he took in the course of the crisis in the USSR. The question of questions is: What about assistance to the forces of victorious democracy? To wait until the reforms in the USSR are firmly established and then render assistance, thereby running the risk of it coming too late, or, on the other hand, replaying his present policy 180 degrees and declaring a readiness to assist with credits and food right now, immediately?

Pressure on the White House, meanwhile, pressure in support of the speediest assistance, is growing. Indicative in this respect was an article in Friday's THE NEW YORK TIMES by Richard Burt, who under Reagan was in charge in the State Department of the Soviet Desk and who in recent years was head of the U.S. delegation at the strategic nuclear arms negotiations. Burt expresses a number of interesting ideas, in my view. First, he proposes the urgent convening of a special summit meeting of the "Big Seven," inviting Gorbachev and Yeltsin to it, convened in Berlin, "where the cold war began and ended," and discussion of a "program of economic support which is more far-reaching than that which was agreed on in London." It should, from the viewpoint of the former assistant secretary of state, be a question not only of technical support in the development of energy, transportation, and agriculture but also economic assistance, which would be geared, specifically, toward the creation of a stabilization fund, an easing of the balance of payments deficit, and an expansion of Western investments.

Richard Burt's second idea is such: The formation of something like a "democracy corps" by analogy with the Peace Corps, which would incorporate businessmen and scientists who would leave for the Soviet Union for a one-to two-year period to assist in the solution of the giant task of the creation of local democratic institutions of power and the setting up of a market economy. "Soviet people," R. Burt concludes his article, "have demonstrated courage and their devotion to change. Can we confine ourselves to less?"

The question of assistance is being posed increasingly intensively as ever more experts are persuading themselves that, although the thwarting of the putsch was a giant victory for the supporters of reforms, the main problems and difficulties are still to come. From the viewpoint of observers R. Evans and R. Novak, "a most serious danger to Yeltsin now is his possible loss of support on the part of the starving, homeless and unemployed people this coming winter."

Roughly the same forecast is given also by Jonathan Sanders, an authoritative American Sovietologist now working as CBS correspondent in Moscow. As was the case in 1917, he believes, the radical cities could find themselves detached from rural localities and could languish in starvation.

And Sanders expressed one further thought. So serious that the program anchor subsequently had to disavow it: The Sovietologist believes that in the present extremely complex situation there should not be in the post of U.S. ambassador in Moscow a person who by his own admission knows nothing about the USSR. "We cannot allow ourselves to have as an ambassador an amateur who learns on the job."

But Robert Strauss, although a complete amateur in Sovietology, has a matchless quality: He enjoys George Bush's trust.

But the tasks confronting the new ambassador are undoubtedly most complex.

It is easy to imagine the colossal multitude of questions which face the new ambassador. Such as, for example: Will not the strengthening of Russia's role in the administration of the Soviet state cause the other republics growing concern? What will happen if each republic acquires its own armed formations? How then should the Americans and Europeans act on disarmament issues? Will not the Soviet nuclear arsenals come to be divided up among the republics?

There are already answers to some questions. For example, neither the administration nor the White House are concealing their satisfaction with the way in which some of the principal offices were distributed on Friday in the new Soviet Government. The Pentagon, according to CNN reports, is of the opinion that "American-Soviet military relations will improve" with the appointment of Shaposhnikov as defense minister.

The presumed development of the situation in relations between Moscow and the Baltic republics is brightening up for Americans also. Larry Eagleburger, U.S. first assistant secretary of state, said in a television interview that he "would not be surprised were the Baltics to become independent within the next six months."

But I would not say that Americans are clear on the question of what will become of the Communist Party.

According to ABC commentator Peter Jennings, declaring a termination of party activity is one thing, its actual dismantling is quite another: "It has deep roots locally."

And, finally, CBS managed to obtain a brief interview with the new chairman of the KGB. Answering the question, V. Bakatin said (I translate from the English): "No one will come to love the KGB, but we will do everything to ensure that lawlessness will never be repeated and that the citizens have no fear of being shadowed."

Agriculture

Statistics Committee Reports on Grain Harvest

LD2308235491 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0200 GMT 23 Aug 91

[Summary] According to information from the USSR State Statistics Committee, grain was threshed in the country on an area of 55 million hectares. This is slightly more than half the entire area sown to grain. Some 77 million tonnes of grain must be delivered to the state. So far 32.2 percent of the state order has been fulfilled.

Much grain has accumulated at collective and state farms. Nothing can justify such a low pace of sales of grain to state resources. This is stated by Yuriy Alekseyvich Nikitin, senior official of the USSR Ministry of Agriculture and Food, commenting on the progress of the harvesting campaign.

Kuban Grain Harvest Down From Last Year

PM2008155091 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Aug 91 Second Edition p 1

[PRAVDA correspondent K. Aksenov report: "You Can't Feed People With Speeches"]

[Text] Krasnodar—It is a less than gratifying fact: This year the Kuban has gathered nearly 1.5 million tonnes less wheat than last year. The yield is lower, and markedly so. There are many reasons for the decline. Chief among them, in the agronomists' view, is that they failed to protect the crops against diseases and pests. They appealed just about everywhere for help, but it never got beyond promises. And the grain that has ripened is, as they say, not what it should be.

Admittedly, that is by the high standards of the Kuban. On average, they have still threshed 42.2 quintals from each of the 1.6 million hectares of grain crops. The gross harvest was 6.7 million tonnes, of which 5 million tonnes is the famous Kuban wheat, without which you cannot make light rolls or good pasta. So now they are considering what to do with this good produce so as not to offend the state and not to do themselves down.

Barter deals are topical today. Because the peasant is forced to obtain everything for himself, from the combine and the tractor to nails and planks for his coffin. The people of the Kuban decided first of all to take care of their deliveries under the Russian tax in kind. The RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers has instructed them to sell 2.24 million tonnes of wheat for this purpose—approximately half the gross harvest. This is a kind of imposition that has nothing in common with market relations. You give them two and a half million tonnes of the best grain, and you get nothing for it except money, and not much of that (the commodity exchanges are today offering prices five to seven times higher). You get no equipment, nor fuel, nor timber. But for the time being they are fulfilling their duty in the Kuban. They have already delivered 2.2 million tonnes of wheat. They are, as the saying goes, only two steps away from the desired target set by the tax in kind. They will certainly make it....

But the question is: What happens after that? Will the priceless grain stay in the kolkhoz and sovkhoz stores, or will it be "lured away" in mutually beneficial commodity exchanges? Not an easy question. More than once the trusting people of the Kuban have been duped, trusting to the center's assurances that in exchange for the grain supplied they would receive scarce machines, imported goods, and timber. They dispatched hundreds of thousands of tonnes of grain, but much of what was promised was never handed over to the country dwellers. People lost their faith, but now they are trying again. It seems that this time they will not be disappointed.

"In exchange for grain supplied over and above the tax in kind," A. Ugryumov, chief of the kray grain products administration, says, "they have allocated to us 245 tractors; more than 200 trucks, buses, cars; 6,300 television sets; and more than 8,000 refrigerators and washing and sewing machines."

Maybe this will make it possible to some degree to increase the flow of wheat into the country's storehouses. But not much, I think. According to A. Ugryumov, the scarce goods are allocated only in exchange for 247,000 tonnes of wheat. That is a drop in the ocean! The people of the Kuban, given advantageous terms, could sell several times more than that. And two more harvests are yet to come: rice and corn. The country needs this grain, too. For such a cause, the center and, indeed, the local authorities should take some trouble. It is easier to deal with your own suppliers than with a merchant from overseas.

The grain is now at the threshing floors. Some of it will go for seed and for settling up with lessees and farm workers. But the surplus? This should be considered by the leaders of central organs, who are talking a great deal today about the critical situation regarding grain purchases in the country. Only it is not only speeches that we need....

Samara Oblast Farmers Lack Equipment, Supplies

PM2908132391 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1550 GMT 28 Aug 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast: Report by L. Krechetova and V. Pavlov, identified by caption, from Samara Oblast]

[Text] [Announcer] In Samara Oblast a statistical survey of family farms has been compiled. According to a poll three-fourths of the 519 registered family farms are unable to get off the ground because of machinery, equipment, and construction material shortages.

[Krechetova] Farmer Aleksandr Nester has not sown his field. He was unable to obtain either seed or machinery. And so the field is overgrown with grass.

Another farmer, Aleksandr Tokarev, managed to obtain credit and buy seeds and a sowing machine and borrow a tractor from his neighbor. But now he has nothing to harvest his crop with. The oblast agroprom [agro-industrial committee] has allocated one combine harvester for a whole group of family farmers. But without a reaper. They have turned for help to the local kolkhoz. But the kolkhoz is in a hurry to gather its own harvest. The farmers are now trying to make a private deal with machine operators to induce them to work an hour or two on family farms. The situation with trucks is much the same.

Both the law on family farms and an oblast soviet resolution specified that a seed stock should be created for family farms, that they should be allocated machinery, and that machinery hire centers should be set up and supplies of fuel and construction materials provided.

[V. Malchikhin, deputy chairman of Kinelcherkasskiy Rayon Soviet, identified by caption] It must be said that a great many things, quite naturally, depend on local authorities. But by no means everything. The point is that before you embark on such a very complex matter it is necessary to carefully weigh up and consider everything.

[Krechetova] Do you think that maybe the whole family farm movement was premature?

[Malchikhin] No, this movement was not premature. It is a very necessary movement. That is to say, it will be of help to the country. But this takes time.

[Krechetova] However, the delay in providing assistance may prove ruinous for the family farm movement. After all, it is not just the unsown fields that are becoming overgrown with weeds. The foot dragging is destroying people's confidence in the success of this cause. What is needed is an integrated state program for the provision of assistance to family farmers—and, what is more, a targeted program that would bypass the agroprom hierarchy.

Scientific

Cosmonauts End 'Materials Studies' Experiments

LD2708210491 Moscow TASS in English 1416 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Mission Control Centre, August 27 TASS—Soviet cosmonauts Anatoliy Artsebarsky and Sergey Krikalev have completed a series of experiments on materials studies.

They used a Krater-B furnace to grow a mono-crystal of semi-conductor silicon, which is used in microelectronics.

On Tuesday, they continued unloading the Progress M-9 cargo craft and checked equipment to be used for research during a forthcoming Soviet-Austrian joint flight.

The results of the medical examination showed that both cosmonauts are in good health.

TASS Reports Parameters of Indian Satellite

LD2908152991 Moscow TASS in English 1421 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 29 TASS—The Indian IRS-1B space satellite was put to orbit today by a Soviet Vostok booster rocket.

This is the second Indian satellite launched from the Baykonur launch site. The satellite is aimed to receive operative information about India's natural resources with the help of optic and electronic equipment.

Indian scientists and specialists have created the satellite and tested it at the launch site.

The satellite has been put to orbit with the following parameters:

—Maximum distance from the Earth's surface—924 kilometers,

—Minimum distance from the Earth's surface—869 kilometers,

—Rotation period—102.9 minutes,

—Orbital inclination—99.25 degrees.

Equipment is functioning normally.

The satellite is being controlled from the mission control centre in Moscow region and the Indian mission control centre in Bangalor.

Civil Aviation Air Show Staged in Kirovograd

OW2808100391 Moscow Central Television First Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1900 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Report by V. Chistyakov from the "Utro" program]

[Text] [Begin Chistyakov recording] During its 40 years of existence, the Kirovograd Higher Flight Academy of Civil Aviation—and the festivities were timed to coincide with the Day of Jubilee of Civil Aviation—has prepared more than 70,000 high-class specialists for the Soviet Union and 49 countries of the world. Therefore the pilots gladly accepted the invitation to come to Kirovograd, the city of their youth. They arrived with their own equipment, which they demonstrated at the exhibition.

The access to the training airfield was open to all, probably for the first time. Everyone, and teenagers especially, examined the newest airplanes and giant helicopters with interest, both from close up and from inside. Designers of the Antonov Designer Bureau showed their developments, and the pilots of military divisions, airborne troops, sportsmen of the DOSAV [All-Union Voluntary Society for Assistance to the Air Force of the USSR], owners of homemade aircraft, and representatives of educational establishments of the Aeroflot demonstrated their flight skill. The place was crowded, and everyone watched the flight demonstrations with bated breath, admired the expert-level advanced acrobatic maneuvers, and the parachute jumps performed by masters of the art. The exhibition of modern aircraft was further enhanced by ultralights, balloons, and homemade aircraft. Old friends met here, and the festival was a success. [video shows Antonov An-12 aircraft, Illyushin Il-76 aircraft, acrobatic maneuvers, ultralight aircraft on ground and in flight, and parachute jumps]

And now, a few words about the academy. Its glorious history began in 1951. At first, it trained pilots for long-distance aviation, then for the Armed Forces, and during the transfer to turbo-prop and jet engines the staff again showed itself to be on the front line. Even today, the training of navigators and air traffic controllers of civil aviation is conducted only here, and this year, two-thirds of the graduates are honor students. They will work in all parts of the country and abroad. The elation of the staff of the Academy was shared by all the citizens of Kirovograd. [end recording]

Residents Interviewed at Plesetsk Cosmodrome

OW2908065991 Moscow Central Television First Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1900 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Video report by V. Bogomolov; from the "Utro" program]

[Text] It is morning and the city is quiet. Incidentally, it is always quiet in this city; after all, it is called Mirnyy [Peaceful]. The first people to appear shortly after sunrise are dog owners and those concerned with their health, and then those who are hurrying to work. The majority here travel to work on the train—or motovoz as it is called here through habit, although they are really ordinary rail cars. Here is a mother taking her daughter to the kindergarten before she also is to leave on the train. The city is still empty. Passersby appear at about 0800. What troubles the people of the city, which is built next to, and because of, the Plesetsk Cosmodrome? [Video shows early morning walkers, military and civilian commuters hurrying to catch the train or go to school then cuts to show Bogomolov's interviewing various people]

[Unidentified teacher] Today my concern is to spend this last day in the forest with my son.

[Bogomolov] Is he an officer?

[Teacher] No, he is a soldier.

[Captain Akimov] I have no worries, in principle.

[Bogomolov] None? Everything is all right with you?

[Akimov] Everything is all right.

[Unidentified officer] I am concerned that everything at work will remain normal.

[Bogomolov] What do you mean?

[Officer] What I mean is that I am concerned about any violations of military discipline among personnel.

[Bogomolov] What is your biggest worry this morning?

[Unidentified woman] That everything is all right with work. Chaos in the shops is probably worse. Generally, while we are at work, everything is sold.

[Teacher] Although this is a city for officers whose work is complex, compared to other cities, the situation in Mirnyy regarding the provision of food products and goods is rather worse than I expected.

[Gerasimova, corespondent for the teachers' newspaper] Everything is all right with me, although I am in doubt as to whether I can get to the launch today. [Video shows the Plesetsk Cosmodrome with a crowd of civilians, a rocket on the launch pad, people setting up cameras, a rocket being railed out of a hangar, brief distant shot of a launch]

[Bogomolov] It is not hard see the launch, even from the city, if one knows the time of the launch. If Plesetsk, the busiest cosmodrome on earth, invites specialists from NASA from the United States, for at least one viewing of a launch, then, as it is said, God himself decreed that Soviet journalists be permitted to view a space launch. So the morning that we filmed this report there was a [word indistinct] rocket launch. Such was the morning in Mirnyy.

Mercury Found on Volga Shoreline at Astrakhan

PM2808100391 Moscow Central Television Second Program Network in Russian 0945 GMT 16 Aug 91

[From the "Caspian—Common Concern" documentary]

[Text] [Video begins with aerial shot of oil slick] [Unidentified speaker] Mercury was discovered dumped in Volgograd. We dealt with this problem. I went there myself. We collected soil samples from around the Verkhniy Lebyazhinskiy, Chernyy Yar, Tsagan Aman, and Shapovki [as heard] areas. We didn't find any mercury. But in fact the mercury is there. Mercury doesn't disappear or decompose, it can stick around for hundreds of years. And who is affected by it? Animals and human beings! We never found the culprits, the people who did it. Here in Astrakhan two children found mercury in the Trusovo area. They found mercury on the shoreline. And nobody knows where it came from. They looked for the culprits and claimed that children had been breaking open thermometers. But they found more mercury than you'd get in a thermometer! Where did this mercury on the shores of Astrakhan come from? Nobody knows. [video ends with shot of a ship moving across camera]

Military

Defense Minister on Army's Future, Nuclear Arms

PM2808140691 Paris LE FIGARO in French 27 Aug 91 p 4

[Interview with Defense Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov by Laure Mandeville in Moscow; date not given]

[Text] [Mandeville] All the republics in the USSR are now scattering and equipping themselves with national guards. What future can the Soviet Army have in these circumstances?

[Shaposhnikov] The representatives of the republics and the USSR defense minister must have a meeting as soon as possible.

[Mandeville] A meeting of the 15 republics?

[Shaposhnikov] Yes. Of course, this process can be given a degree of flexibility. Why not start by bringing together the nine republics which wanted to sign the Union treaty at the same time as the center (nine plus one) and then move on to a more comprehensive discussion? We must draw up a settlement on the deployment of the Soviet Army in the republics.

[Mandeville] What kind of settlement?

[Shaposhnikov] Do you want a specific example? Yesterday I met with Latvian President Anatoliy Gorbunov. He clearly told me that his republic did not intend to join the new Soviet Union. But he also said that Latvia was not preparing to question the presence of Soviet armed forces on its territory. It is therefore absolutely vital to reach an agreement on the terms of their deployment.

It will be an interstate and intergovernmental agreement, between two fully fledged states. It will assert the sovereign and inviolable nature of Latvia while explaining the function of our army, which will be limited to the defense of that republic's territory. How many armaments will we have, how many troops will be stationed there? These are other questions.

[Mandeville] Will this be a temporary situation?

[Shaposhnikov] Yes, of course, because we will have to observe the way in which things develop in the different republics, how our economic relations develop. I do not think that the other republics will separate from the USSR and Russia completely. The existing ties are very strong. It is possible to imagine a scenario in which the Soviet Union would give the republics some economic aid and in exchange would be able to maintain defense contingents on their territory.

[Mandeville] Do you think that there will be a Russian army?

[Shaposhnikov] I think we must create military regions which will coincide with the territory of each of the republics. These military regions could fulfill the security needs of each republic while remaining subordinate to a defense ministry which would head all the regions concerned.

[Mandeville] Yeltsin spoke yesterday of a security council....

[Shaposhnikov] Yes, it will be a security council or a defense ministry. At all events an essential body.... Why? If necessary it would be possible to agree to the definitive division of the ground forces and their almost exclusive control by the republics' military regions. But you will understand that there are forces which it is impossible to divide. Why increase the number of republics which would have nuclear weapons?

[Mandeville] There is a great deal of talk in the West of the danger presented by the dispersal of your nuclear forces. Can you confirm that danger?

[Shaposhnikov] No. I would like to emphasize this point. There is no threat of the uncontrolled use of those forces. I would like to add that that danger was removed from the beginning of the putsch.

[Mandeville] You talk of creating military regions in the republics, but will there not be a problem with the national composition of those forces. Will we not have 15 national armies?

[Shaposhnikov] We may be heading toward full independence for all the republics. When the Baltic republics decide to leave the Soviet Union, they must be allowed to go. It is their problem. But, having said that, we are now finding areas of agreement even with them.

[Mandeville] Has the time not come to move toward a professional army?

[Shaposhnikov] We will come to that, as soon as possible.

Defense Minister Recalls Western Group Leader

LD2908105991 Berlin ADN in German 0931 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Colonel General Matvey Burlakov, the commander in chief of the Western Group of Soviet Armed Forces stationed in Germany, has been recalled by new Soviet Defense Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, according to information from the Berlin daily SUPER. The paper adds in its Friday edition, quoting Burlakov's staff, that 60 percent of all staff officers in the Wuensdorf headquarters of the Western Group will be removed from office and replaced by supporters of Boris Yeltsin.

Burlakov sympathized with the coup plotters in Moscow and sent a congratulatory telegram to former Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov during the first hours of the coup, SUPER reports.

(An edited version of the article was conveyed to ADN.)

Dismissal Denied

LD2908150391 Hamburg DPA in German 1445 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Excerpt] Berlin (DPA)—The press center of the Western Group of Soviet Forces in Germany today denied a report in the newspaper SUPER according to which the head of the Soviet Western Group, Colonel General Matvey Burlakov, had been relieved of his duties by the new Soviet defense minister. The press release says that there has been no change in the composition of the command of the Western Group. Burlakov is still commander-in-chief. [passage omitted] Speaking on the ZDF (television) program "Heute-Journal" this evening, [head of the Soviet Western Group, Colonel General Matvey] Burlakov answered a question about his possible removal saying: "As you can see, I am still here." The general said he believes he assessed the coup correctly from the start.

Commenting on the withdrawal of Soviet forces, Burlakov stressed there are no changes so far, neither concerning the procedure nor the speed of that process. The general confirmed that he has signed an order to dissolve the party structures in the Western Group of the Army. This concerns about 4,500 officers. He has not yet handed in his own party membership document, Burlakov said.

Shaposhnikov Interviewed on Coup, Future Army

LD2908174891 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Interview with USSR Minister of Defense Yevgeniy Ivanovich Shaposhnikov by television presenter Tatyana Mitkova—in the minister's study—date not given; recorded; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Mitkova] We are in the study of Yevgeniy Ivanovich Shaposhnikov, the Soviet Union's new minister of defense. The other day, he was given the high military rank of Marshal of Aviation of the Soviet Union. We congratulate you, Yevgeniy Ivanovich...

[Shaposhnikov interrupts] Thank you.

[Mitkova continues] ...on that really very high rank. Allow me to put a few questions to you. The first question, naturally, is as follows: How do you, as a professional, as a military man, assess the actions of the military during the recent events? What assessment can you give them?

[Shaposhnikov] Well, first, some call it a military coup. I would like to say that it was not a military coup. It was rather a coup d'etat, or a plot by high-ranking state officials, which did count on the military to a certain degree. But the military did, in the final analysis, remain faithful to their Constitution. They did not take up arms against their people.

What do I think are the reasons for the failure of the plot, that coup d'etat? The ringleaders of the mutiny did not know how the Soviet people are living at the moment. They only had to open the window and look outside. Life had already moved on along a completely different channel, and the people had become different and the Army had become different. And the Army knows that it will not raise a hand against the Soviet people. That is, I think, the reason for the failure of the plotters.

[Mitkova] That leads to another question. What will our Army be like in the future—professional or...?

[Shaposhnikov interrupts] I think that, at the present time, we have reached a state in which our Army must be professional. Well, that is a very serious process, very lengthy, very responsible. One cannot simply say it will be professional from tomorrow onwards. No. There will be a transitional period, in which I think there will exist both compulsory service in accordance with the present Constitution, and elements of a professional service too will probably introduce themselves, so that we shall not later find ourselves in a position in which we have declared that the Army is professional, and then we take a look and see that no one is joining our professional Army, or we haven't got enough money. It has been decided that very precise studies, very good calculations are needed, and then we can make a definitive statement.

[Mitkova] Another question, if you please. Very many people are now worried by the question of who had his finger on the nuclear button during the coup....

[Shaposhnikov interrupts] I would like to tell you that....

[Mitkova continues]...and who has now, for that matter?

[Shaposhnikov continues]...nuclear weapons during the coup were in reliable hands and thee is no cause for concern on the part of the world public at that time and especially now. Those who have their finger on the nuclear button are those who are supposed to.

[Mitkova] And what is the overall fate of the Soviet Union's nuclear armaments? What do you think, will they be concentrated somewhere in one place, that is, will their administration be centralized?

[Shaposhnikov] The way I would appraise this matter is this: Whatever the destiny of the Union—and most likely, in my view, it will be preserved, perhaps not in the same form as now but perhaps on some kind of socioeconomic lines, because you cannot completely destroy these links now, especially economic ones—I just cannot imagine our Army being composed of several armies located on the territories of the sovereign republics. I think we have the wit and wisdom and the rest for the Army to be united. Because when it is united, when it is subordinated to a single Constitution, a single president, then it will be easier to preserve it from being used against the people.

General Staff Chief Interviewed on Military

On Military's Changing Role

LD2908235891 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1910 GMT 29 Aug 91

[From the press review]

[Text] Now that the Soviet Union is on the verge of collapse, the Army is probably the only structure that's not disintegrating. In the final account, the future of the state depends on those who are going to control the Army and on the way it's going to act in various circumstances. That explains why the future of the Army, especially control over mass destruction weapons, worries many people. The trade union paper TRUD has interviewed the new chief of the General Staff, Vladimir Lobov, who spoke of his idea of a military reform.

It isn't possible, Vladimir Lobov said, to control the Armed Forces without the republics that have grown much stronger and become politically independent. The republics should have their own defense ministries. The Army and Navy should be controlled by two parallel but interacting vertical structures: military-political, from defense ministries of different levels to representatives in local government bodies, and purely military through the president, General Staff, and commanders of units.

If there is a clear division of functions, duties and responsibility this will rule out the use of the Army for solving domestic political problems, interethnic, and interrepublican problems.

On Army, Nuclear Weapons

LD3008094191 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] The new chief of the USSR General Staff, 56-year-old General Vladimir Lobov, believes that in the future the Army should be mainly a professional army. And he said this opinion is shared by all officers. He also pointed out that soon, when the international treaties on reducing nuclear and conventional arms begin to be implemented, the numerical strength of the Soviet troops will be considerably reduced. General Lobov ruled out fully the possibility of using the Armed Forces in interethnic conflicts.

He also described as impermissible the appearance of new states possessing nuclear weapons as a result of the breakup of the USSR. He stressed that the command of the strategic forces should be only in the competence of the country's supreme governing bodies.

Head of Main Political Committee Fired

OW2908201991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1845 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "INTERFAX" has learnt from informal but reliable military sources that Colonel-General Nikolay Shlyaga, the head of the Main Political Committee of the Soviet Army and Navy, has been sacked.

Paratroopers Return to Tula Barracks

PM2908104991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Aug 91 Union Edition p 8

[Unattributed report: "Paratroopers Have Returned to Barracks"]

[Text] On the morning of 21 August the Tula paratroop division was one of the first to leave the capital.

The airborne fighting vehicles, tanks, and self-propelled guns, without being loaded onto flatcars and aircraft, marched out and were already in their own garrison by evening.

The paratroopers set about their daily business: They delivered their weapons to the stacks, put the combat equipment in order, and continued guard and garrison service and the fulfillment of the combat study and paratroop-training program. In brief, they set about everything which they had been prevented from doing by the decision of the State Committee for the State of Emergency and the defense minister's decree.

Major General Aleksandr Lebed, deputy commander of the airborne troops for combat training, was able to return to his interrupted vacation. We were told at the Airborne Troops headquarters that he is also now in Tula, where his relatives live.

And so the Army has returned to barracks. It is engaged in what it is supposed to do. It hopes that the country's Supreme Soviet will finally adopt a law which will ban once and for all its use within the country for the solution of political problems.

Decrees on Defense Ministry Positions Issued

91UM0834A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Aug 91 Single Edition p 1

[Ukases of the USSR President on USSR Defense Ministry Appointments]

[Text]

Ukase of the USSR President on the Appointment of Ye.I. Shaposhnikov as USSR Minister of Defense

To appoint Yevgeniy Ivanovich Shaposhnikov USSR minister of defense. To submit this decision for examination in session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

To release Ye.I. Shaposhnikov from his obligations as commander in chief of the Air Force.

[Signed]**M. Gorbachev, president of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics**

[Place] Moscow, the Kremlin

[Date] 23 August 1991

Ukase of the USSR President on the Appointment of V.N. Lobov as Chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces and USSR First Deputy Minister of Defense

To appoint Vladimir Nikolayevich Lobov chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces and USSR first deputy minister of defense.

[Signed]**M. Gorbachev, president of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics**

[Place] Moscow, the Kremlin

[Date] 23 August 1991

Ukase of the USSR President on the Appointment of P.S. Grachev as USSR Deputy Minister of Defense and Chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] State Committee for Defense and Security

To appoint Pavel Sergeyevich Grachev USSR deputy minister of defense and chairman of the RSFSR State Committee for Defense and Security.

To confer upon P.S. Grachev the military rank of Colonel General.

[Signed]**M. Gorbachev, president of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics**

[Place] Moscow, the Kremlin

[Date] 23 August 1991

Funeral of Marshal Akhromeyev Held in Moscow

LD2908205891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1408 GMT 29 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 29 Aug (TASS)—The funeral of Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Akhromeyev, advisor to the USSR president and former Chief of Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, who committed suicide by hanging himself in his office in the Kremlin last Saturday [24 August], was held in Moscow today.

At Troyekurov Cemetery (western outskirts of the capital), where Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev is buried, the organizers limited themselves to an ordinary civilian funeral without a funeral meeting, gun salutes, or the participation of any military guard of honor in the ceremony, with which military chiefs of such a rank are usually seen off on their last journey.

General Masimov on Integrity of Missile Forces

PM3008082591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Aug 91 Union Edition p 3

[Interview with Army General Yu. Masimov, commander in chief of the Strategic Rocket Forces, by correspondent V. Litovkin; date and place of interview not given; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction: "Army General Yu. Maksimov: 'One Republic Cannot Maintain a Nuclear Shield'"]

[Text] The events of recent August days have given rise to a desire on the part of many republics to create their own national armies and even claims to a part of the country's Armed Forces. Is this possible? What would happen to our army and, in particular, the missile forces if they were divided up among individual states?

Our correspondent talked with Army General Yu. Maksimov, commander in chief of Strategic Rocket Forces.

[Maksimov] It is my profound belief that only a renewed, single Union and our state's modern armed forces can ensure real sovereignty, independence, and security for the country as a whole and for each member republic. And vice versa. Without joint efforts by all the republics in our Union you cannot preserve a modern, battleworthy army as a guarantor of our peaceful life.

The Strategic Rocket Forces are my parish. I will talk about them. And my opinion is quite clear and unequivocal: splitting the Strategic Rocket Forces up along ethnic lines is out of the question. For a whole range of political, technical, military, and legal reasons.

Let me begin with the political. The missile forces are the foundation of the strategic nuclear forces and a decisive factor in deterring and preventing war. They must possess reliability, proper combat effectiveness, and the requisite potential for retaliatory action. Only then can they prevent any aggressor from being tempted to wage war on our country, to blackmail it or bring any strong-arm pressure to bear on it.

At the moment our forces are capable of doing that job; in a fragmented state they would never be able to do it.

It is also technically impossible. Why? Well, practically all the republics and their entire scientific and production personnel are involved. Take out one component and you could do irreparable damage.

Suffice it to say that a thousand related facilities, dozens and hundreds of enterprises which it would be impossible to locate or reestablish on one territory, even in Russia, are involved in creating one missile. Even Russia could not handle the job from the economic viewpoint.

No individual republic could ensure that its nuclear missiles were up to the demands of modern science and technology. Changes in this sphere are so rapid and the expenditure so huge that they would not be able to cope alone.

You have to have scientific research institutes and test sites—very complex and expensive facilities where missiles are not only tested and launched but undergo refinement and are monitored for safety in use. The test site cannot be located on the territory of a single republic. Not to mention the missile flight paths, which extend over a vast area.

The missile attack warning system and its components are located all over the country, but it is a unified system here. It is utterly impossible to talk about state security, about any possibility of retaliatory action without it.

Now I come to the military aspect. The missile forces need unified, centralized combat control, a unified system of security against unsanctioned actions [sistema obespecheniya nesanktsionirovannykh deystviy], that is, for guarding against the unsanctioned use of nuclear weapons, and a unified system to ensure nuclear safety.

We have put this system together over the years and the decades. And it is impossible today to break it up into separate parts. It would mean scrapping, destroying it. It would result in a threat to life on earth. I cannot imagine who would do that.

Finally—and this is no insignificant reason—our missile forces' facilities are situated in many republics, on all territories. This ensures their survivability.

For the Americans, the foundation of the strategic offensive nuclear forces is submarine-based ballistic missiles. They are in the wide expanses of the ocean; ours are on dry land. If you were to gather them together in one rather restricted area, their survivability and combat effectiveness would straightaway be radically reduced. Which is also unwise.

The legal aspect of the problem is also of no mean significance. The proliferation of nuclear weapons is prohibited by international treaties, and we also have no right to make it such that instead of one, USSR nuclear power we have two, three, six, or seven.

So whatever way you look at it, dividing up our branch of the Armed Forces is unthinkable and out of the question.

[Litovkin] But a republic like Russia—can't it afford to have its own nuclear forces?

[Maksimov] No, it is economically impossible even for Russia.

[Litovkin] But maybe some republic or other would have no need for missile forces at all. There are very many countries in the world that do not have them and do not suffer as a result.

[Maksimov] Quite possible. But I am talking about the security of our state, of its modern Armed Forces. No major country can really afford not to have them, not to try to make itself secure from any invasion.

That goes for our republics, too. Look, they have only just started talking about independence and straightaway the problem of borders arises. What would it be like if every republic had its own armed forces? Has Karabakh taught us nothing?

Indeed, in my view, the external security of borders could also be under threat. Few of our neighbors have no territorial claims on us. The way they approach a fragmented Union, deprived of its missile shield, could be different from the way they appoach a unified Union. The prospect worries me.

You also have the matter of national formations for the solution of some internal tasks—one might talk about that. And about the legal regulation of the presence of forces on the territory of the republics, the relationship between the military and the local authorities.... All these problems have to be resolved. But you cannot have a situation whereby each republic is using its own armed forces to ensure its own sovereignty and security. Nothing good would come of that.

[Litovkin] The final question is about something that worries us all today. What happened to our strategic nuclear forces during the 72 hours when the president was isolated? When was he deprived of any influence over them?

[Maksimov] I cannot give you a definitive answer to that. I do not know precisely what happened to the control facilities which are in the hands of the country's top leadershiop, and I cannot speculate.

One thing I can say is that there was no danger to peace at that time. I already mentioned the system for preventing the unsanctioned use of nuclear weapons. It rules out the possibility of a one-man decision. So in those circumstances there was no question of any blackmail or pressure.

I can add that during that period our forces did not participate in the fulfillment of SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] orders. I categorically forbade anyone to assign equipment and people for those purposes. The order was carried out.

What we did was step up the proection of ammunition depots, missile positions, and alert duty, and went about our day-to-day business.

The missile forces' weaponry is too serious for it to have become involved in adventures.

Army Paper: Precoup Appeal to Forces' Communists

PM2908102991 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Aug 91 First Edition p 1

["Appeal of the Combined Plenum of the All-Army Party Committee and the Control Commission of the USSR Armed Forces CPSU Organization to Army and Navy Communists"]

[Text] Comrades!

A crucial period has come about in the country's life. The economic crisis is being aggravated by the worsening of the sociopolitical situation. Anticommunist forces are waging an overt offensive against the CPSU and are trying to compromise, split, and undermine its positions in labor and troop collectives and to departyize the Armed Forces. There is no end to the attacks on the Army and attempts to divide it up into "national compartments." The idea that the state is totally secure and the Armed Forces are unnecessary is being foisted on society.

At this difficult time for the party and all Communists preparations are being launched for an extraordinary 29th CPSU Congress. While sharing and supporting the decisions adopted by the CPSU Central Committee July Plenum, which examined the draft of the new party program, we urge you, the Communists of the Army and Navy, to strengthen the unity of party ranks and prevent a split in the CPSU.

The future of the country and its Armed Forces depends to a great extent on us Army Communists. It is our party and civic duty to be patriot-internationalists in deed and assert with our every step and our every action Lenin's ideas of defending the socialist Fatherland and the sacred sense of friendship and fraternity among our peoples.

Responsibility for the future of our homeland and party and for ensuring the security of the Soviet state requires that all we Communists in the USSR Armed Forces:

Manifest restraint and judgment and do everything we can to ensure that the Armed Forces remain a stable and cohesive state organism and a reliable mainstay for the president and the USSR Supreme Soviet at such a difficult time for the country;

Engage in practical work to confirm Soviet people in the belief that the Armed Forces were and still are the reliable guarantor of the statehood and independence of our great power;

Preserve and strengthen CPSU organizations' political leadership in troop and labor collectives, and manifest an attentive attitude toward every defender of the Fatherland, war and labor veteran, internationalist soldier, the families of the dead, and servicemen on military service and alert duty who are performing their military duty in extreme conditions;

Bring the ideological activity of party organizations into line with the acuteness of the current period. The effectiveness of this work must be manifested with particular force during the discussion of the draft CPSU program. Trenchant ideological battles undoubtedly lie in store for us. It is very important to ensure that the struggle of ideas, approaches, and concepts is always based on a constructive unifying principle;

Do our utmost to increase the party's prestige, strengthen the foundations of party fellowship, mutual understanding and mutual aid, and struggle to ensure that Communists set a personal example and every primary organization displays militancy.

We urge you to take a more active part in the life of local party organizations and cement their ranks by working together at such a difficult time.

The main thing is is not to panic, not give in to difficulties, and to assert the CPSU's authority through actions.

We are confident that the Communists of the USSR Armed Forces will always be in the forefront of the healthy forces in society and do everything necessary to ensure the security of our socialist homeland.

The time requires from us responsible, enterprising, and practical deeds!

Veterans' Groups Deny Supporting Coup

91UM0838A Moscow VETERAN in Russian No 35, Aug 91 p 1

["Declaration of the All-Union Soviet of Veterans of War, Labor, and the Armed Forces, and the Soviet War Veterans Committee"—VETERAN headline]

[Text] In these days of anxiety for the fate of our people, the All-Union Soviet of Veterans of War, Labor, and the Armed Forces, and the Soviet War Veterans Committee declare their full support for the all-around renewal of our society that was started in 1985. It is historically necessary and it responds to the highest interests of all Soviet people.

Troubled by the miscalculations that were committed in the resolution of urgent problems and that led to the grave crisis of the state and society, the All-Union Soviet of Veterans and the Soviet War Veterans Committee supported the position expressed on behalf of the leadership of the country in the "Appeal to the Soviet People": concerning the need to avert an economic crisis, to ensure the safety and prosperity of each Soviet person, and to increase the social protection of disabled persons, retirees, persons of the older generation, and others. But the principles declared in this document, as subsequent events showed, were implemented in an unconstitutional way and were based on the arrogant efforts of individual persons. We resolutely condemn adventurism and violence, no matter what side they issue from.

The All-Union Soviet of Veterans and the Soviet War Veterans Committee categorically reject accusations of the leadership of Moscow of allegedly expressed support by the veterans' organization for these unconstitutional measures, and they consider threats and actions against soviets of veterans intolerable and contradictory to the elementary norms of a democratic society.

Fifty years ago, our generation stood staunchly in the defense of the socialist fatherland and defended its freedom and independence. We are also ready today to do everything for its greatness, happiness, and well-being.

In the situation that has arisen, it is the duty of every veteran in every way to promote the preservation of civic peace and law and order, and the creation of conditions in which the Soviet people could freely and responsibly express their attitude toward the important questions of the thorough renewal of society in behalf of the consolidation and well-being of our united and multiethnic Soviet motherland.

[Signed] All-Union Soviet of Veterans of War, Labor, and the Armed Forces, and the Soviet War Veterans Committee

Army Paper Takes Issue With Article on Military

PM2808133191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Aug 91 First Edition p 2

[By Captain First Rank I. Bocharov: "Not Bothering About Arguments"]

[Text] It is hard to dispute prejudice. And indeed, is it necessary? But the trouble is that it has become practically a commonplace phenomenon not just for individuals but also for a number of the mass media. Prejudice is displayed particularly candidly with respect to our armed forces and their leadership, and the problems of our country's defense capability.

The myth of the country's complete security is being vigorously foisted on society. Officer cadres, particularly the supreme command and political personnel, are deliberately being put in opposition to the people. There is brazen speculation concerning the difficulties with social and living conditions in the Army and Navy, and individual categories of servicemen are being exploited. Draft dodgers and deserters are being protected. The USSR Armed Forces are being described as an unnecessary state structure, and the importance of the tasks they carry out is being negated. The Soviet Army and its leadership are experiencing the greatest and most unmerited humiliation in their whole postwar history.

There are many examples of this. Here are just some of them. The article "Will the Army Help Us?" (OGONEK No. 18) presents state policy on raising the USSR's defense capability as a militaristic banquet during a time of plague. It is being proposed that the Ground Forces and other branches of the armed forces be abolished. The article "It Is Not at War That the Boys Are Dying" (ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 12 May) distorts reality and, without proof, rejects data provided by the Main Military Prosecutor's Office on the death of servicemen on active military service. The article "Private Lomonosov, Two Steps Forward!" (KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 10 June) essentially negates the need for the USSR Law "On General Military Service Liability and On Military Service." And so on and so forth.

It is clear that such a one-sided depiction of army and navy life by these publications essentially misinforms the public and distorts the real state of affairs in the armed forces, which alarms a large part of the country's population. This could also not be ignored at a conference with military journalists held by Colonel General N. Shlyaga, chief of the USSR Armed Forces Main Military-Political Directorate and USSR first deputy defense minister. In his report he named KURANTY alongside other publications that have brought down on their readers an avalanche of tendentious and sometimes openly false information. He hit the nail on the head and KURANTY somehow did not like this. They found a suitable author for a rebuke—an ex-serviceman, of course. Although maybe he turned up of his own accord. Today many people want to appear as "intrepid modern thinkers."

So, Colonel B. Zyryanov, retired, a most emboldened member of the USSR Union of Journalists (incidentally, which publications does this productive author not push his pen for?), may not have been at the conference, but with pen in hand and boundless bias he had read a report on it. He found several phrases that, interpreted in a certain way, the "independent" newspaper would undoubtedly have liked. He added a few things of his own. Again it was only things that would doubtless correspond to the thrust of KURANTY which he brought in. They willingly printed it. I could have reproduced something from what was published there 3 August, but to circulate once again the tactless pearls of "creative" illumination bordering on slander by the knight of the pen and his inspirers would, I believe, be too great an honor to them.

As for the actual conference, then as a participant in it I would make so bold as to assert: The journalists present had a clear understanding of the concern of the military-political leadership about the existing problems in ensuring the country's reliable defense. And the discussion there was very businesslike and necessary. But the editorial office of KURANTY once again displayed its lack of fussiness as regards authors and its indefatigable wish to have at least another dig at a military chief.

It is not just the lack of fussiness as regards authors but also as regards judgment that frequently lets down the "democratic" publications. As we can see, it is particularly boundless when people are lacking in any feeling of moderation and do not bother themselves with evidence.

Bush Seen Ready To Recognize Independence

PM3008093191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Aug 91 Union Edition p 4

[Correspondent A. Blinov report: "Bush Convenes Advisers"]

[Text] Washington—U.S. President G. Bush has held a meeting with his closest advisers in Kennebunkport, where he is on vacation, on questions of the situation in the Soviet Union and Soviet-U.S. relations.

B. Scowcroft, the President's national security adviser; Defense Secretary R. Cheney; J. Sununu, White House chief of staff; and R. Strauss, U.S. ambassador to the USSR, who has arrived from Moscow, took part in the meeting.

According to press reports, Bush and his closest advisers discussed the question of U.S. recognition of Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian independence. The possibility of Washington making just such a declaration has been vigorously discussed in the last few days among top leadership circles in the administration and Congress.

Observers report that the White House has displayed restraint, unlike a number of West European governments which have made these declarations in rapid succession. "We don't want to rush things and promote anarchy in the USSR," was how one of Bush's advisers explained the President's stance.

The presidential adviser explained that is a question of a relatively short interval, which will not change Bush's intention of recognizing the Baltic republics' independence. He indicated that the administration wants to demonstrate the proper form in its relations with Moscow and time its decision to coincide with practical steps on Moscow's part to accommodate the Baltic republics' demands if such steps are taken at the extraordinary USSR Supreme Soviet session.

The day before the meeting in Kennebunkport,Bush received a message signed by 21 senators asking that he "not miss this historic opportunity" and immediately declare recognition of the three republics' independence. All the signs are that the President arrived at this decision as a result of the discussion held. Ambassador Strauss, who took part in it, told U.S. journalists that Bush would issue a statement on the Baltic republics Friday.

According to certain information, the meetings' participants also discussed the question of aid for the Soviet Union, although no concrete decisions were announced. A detailed discussion of this is expected to take place during Wednesday's meeting in Kennebunkport between Bush and Britain's prime minister, J. Major, who favors increasing Western aid for the economic reforms in the USSR. It is quite possible that, along with a statement on recognizing the Baltic states' independence, Bush will also explain Friday the U.S. position on aid to the Soviet Union and the accords reached with Major.

UN Secretary General on Baltic Membership Issue

LD2908231291 Moscow TASS in English 1304 GMT 29 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Sedov]

[Text] Geneva August 29 TASS—Before raising the problem of the full participation of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia in the work of the United Nations organisation, it should be settled in the Soviet Union. A statement to this effect was made by U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar before he left for New York.

At his final briefing in Geneva Perez de Cuellar raised the question of joining the United Nations organisation by the Soviet republics which proclaimed independence. Naturally, he said, there is no problem in this respect for the Ukraine and Belorussia, which are full U.N. members in accordance with the agreements concluded at the Yalta conference in 1945 by the three allied nations.

So far as applications for U.N. membership are concerned, which are expected to come soon, primarily from the Baltic republics, they can be discussed at the U.N. General Assembly session following the suggestion of the Security Council, the U.N. secretary general said.

South Africa To Recognize Baltic Independence

LD2908101391 Moscow TASS in English 0805 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Harare August 29 TASS—The South African Government has decided to recognise independence of the three Baltic republics and establish diplomatic relations with them, South African Foreign Minister Roelof Botha said in Johannesburg on Wednesday.

Diplomatic relations between South Africa and the Soviet Union at consular level were severed in 1956 after apartheid was proclaimed South Africa's official policy. In 1991, the two countries exchanged interest sections via the Austrian embassies in Moscow and Pretoria.

Estonia

Supreme Council Resolution on Diplomatic Activity

LD3008122891 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1700 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] The Presidium of the Estonian Supreme Council has recognized as legally void the resolution of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic Council of People's Commissars, which in 1940 declared that the activity of the Republic of Estonia's legal representatives abroad had ended. A resolution was adopted with respect to fundamental issues about continuing the Republic of Estonia's diplomatic activity. This has been reported by ETA.

The Estonian Government was charged with the task of organizing the use of USSR foreign passports, which are temporarily in use in the Republic of Estonia. The chairman of the Supreme Council was given the right to appoint and recall diplomatic representatives abroad. A resolution was adopted setting down preparations for the elections in Kohtia-Jarve, Narva, and Sillamae [on 20 October].

The Presidium of the Supreme Council suspended the implementation of its 15 August resolution, until the sale of shares in state joint-stock companies and any increase in the capital of joint-stock companies are legally regulated.

Supreme Council Presidium Session Held 27 Aug

LD2808220691 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0900 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Report from Toompea by correspondent Gunnar Paal]

[Excerpts] Here at Toompea, 82 people's deputies are present in the hall of the Republic of Estonia's Supreme Council. [passage omitted] Marju Lauristan reports:

[Lauristan] The Presidium of the Estonian Supreme Council met at 1000, and after that the board met. [passage omitted]

The Presidium also adopted a resolution demanding the immediate freeing of the 12 young men who are presently in detention on Estonian soil accused of so-called desertion from the Soviet Army. [passage omitted]

The Presidium also discussed and in principle endorsed the proposal for Mr. Ruutel and Mr. Savisaar together to approach the new USSR defense minister on the issue that all Estonian boys who are in the USSR Army should return home in the near future. We will, of course, have to find a corresponding service for them here. We also appeal to all officers serving in the Soviet Army to come home, to be in the service of the Republic of Estonia. [passage omitted]

I would also like to inform you of two statements received by the board. One is from the 11 members of the former Virumaa and Koostoo [cooperation] groups of deputies, that is, so to speak, from a representation of Russian deputies. Mr. Ruutel is acknowledging the fact at this moment. Another statement was to the effect of setting up a new group of deputies—Civil Accord [Grazhdanskoye Soglasiye]—by 11 deputies who recognize Estonia's independence as a state and who wish to develop cooperation between the Estonian and Russian communities. That was a very pleasant statement.

Mr. Menshikov has been elected chairman of the group of deputies, with Kois and Andreyev as deputies.

Another statement—which was read just now—was from the former communist faction which simply announced that it has disbanded. That was the faction that Malkovskiy, Panfilov, Gusev, and others used to belong to. They have disbanded; one does not know of course how they will organize themselves and act in the future. [passage omitted]

Accord on Joint Border Control With USSR

LD3008091991 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0600 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] As a result of the talks that took place between Edgar Savisaar, chairman of the Republic of Estonia Government, and Lieutenant General Vasiliy Kaponenko, commander of the Baltic Border District, an agreement has been signed on introducing temporary joint border control on the western border of the Republic of Estonia, with the participation of the Border Guard Service of the Republic of Estonia and the USSR Border Guard Forces. The joint control at border posts located in Tallinn will be established as of Monday, 2 September.

Thereafter, the Republic of Estonia Border Guard Service will gradually take over patrols on the mainland border; then it will introduce its service in border guard cordons; and thereafter it will begin to carry out control on the sea.

TASS Reports Early Elections in Three Cities

LD2908200691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0803 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Tallinn, 29 August. (TASS)—The Supreme Soviet of Estonia has adopted a decision on early elections to city soviets of Narva, Sillamaa, and Kohtla-Jarve. They should take place on 20 October.

The fact that local bodies of self-government of these three centers in northeast Estonia repeatedly ignored and refused to recognize laws adopted by the Supreme Soviet was a reason for such a decision.

On 20 August, the authorities of Narva, Sillamaa and Kohtla-Jarve also did not support the state independence of Estonia declared by the Supreme Council.

To avoid the exacerbation of the confrontation in the republic, the government of Estonia appointed its extraordinary representative in this region. This decision was approved at the session of the Supreme Soviet that confirmed the special powers of the representative, whose duties include the coordination of the activities of local and republican authorities.

Prior to convening new local soviets, the mayors of these towns have the right to tackle the issues within the competence of local self-government bodies.

Latvia

Yeltsin, Gorbunovs Hold Talks in Riga

LD3008053591 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0300 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] According to a report from our correspondent in Riga, a meeting took place there yesterday between Anatolijs Gorbunovs, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian Republic, and Boris Yeltsin, president of Russia, who visited Latvia on an unofficial visit.

In the course of the meeting, questions of interstate relations between Russia and Latvia were discussed.

Gorbunovs Letter to Gorbachev on Independence

LD2908223691 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1600 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Respected radio listeners, today Anatolijs Gorbunovs, chairman of the Republic of Latvia Supreme Council Presidium, sent a letter to USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev which says:

I am turning to you with a proposal to begin high-level talks without delay with the aim of recognizing the state independence of the Republic of Latvia. Such a step would promote the traditionally good relations between Latvia and the Soviet Union.

I think that this report requires no comment. It is only possible to supplement it with two other pieces of information: 30 countries of the world have recognized the independence of Latvia. And one more quite sensational piece of information: as Janis Krumins, deputy of the Foreign Affairs Commission, reported to us, Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation, is staying in our republic.

Government To Recognize Israel, Croatia, Slovenia

LD2908181691 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 0900 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Excerpt] The Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia today passed a resolution on the status of military persons as people's deputies, whereby those electoral districts that consisted only of soldiers were abolished. Relevant adjustments have also been made to the draft law on the status of people's deputies of the Republic of Latvia, on its first reading, to determine whether the persons (?mentioned) can be elected as people's deputies of the Republic of Latvia.

The Supreme Council also adopted three resolutions on relations with certain states. One of the resolutions was to recognize the independence of the state of Israel, and as Deputy Vulfsons announced, we were the first former Soviet republic to do so. The Ukrainian Republic would like to do the same. Another resolution defined relations with the Republic of Croatia. The government of our republic was charged with establishing relations with its government, and at the same time the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia recognizes the independence of the Republic of Slovenia, and has similarly ordered the establishment of relations with its government. [passage omitted]

Communist Party Document on Involvement in Coup

OW2908132891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1015 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A classified resolution of the bureau of the Central Committee of the Latvian Communist Party [CC LCP] and the bureau of the Riga City Comittee No. B-55/1 dated August 19, 1991 has been published in Latvia. It describes the tasks of Latvian communists in connection with the statement of the Soviet leadership of August 19.

The document says that the meeting was attended by the leader of the CC LCP Rubiks, secretary of the CC Potreka, the Chief Procurator of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic Dauksis, the head of the Latvian Procurator's Office for Transportation Dzirlank, the Latvian KGB Chief Jehanson, Deputy Procurator-General Reinieks, Deputy Chief of the Political Department of the Baltic Military District Vodopianov, KGB General Zukul, members of the Council of the Union of Baltic Servicemen Avdeyev and Alyoshin, the Chairman of the United Council of Labor Staffs Litvinenko and others.

The resolution strongly supports the State Emergency Committee and binds city, regional and local party organizations to popularize the documents of the committee.

A special group to assist the State Emergency Committee was set up under the leadership of the head of the Latvian CP Rubiks and the secretary of the Riga City Committee Shcherbakov.

Supreme Council Orders Soviet Forces Withdrawal

LD3008000991 Riga Radio Riga International in English 2030 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Latvia's Supreme Council adopted a decision today on the complete withdrawal of Soviet Armed Forces from the Republic of Latvia. The date of withdrawal is to be negotiated between the Latvian and Soviet Governments. The Supreme Council will appeal to United Nations member-countries to support the demand.

Vice Premier Meets Border Guard Commander

OW2908122391 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1015 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The press service of the Latvian Government has informed BF [BALTFAX] that the Vice Premier Ilmars Bisers has met the commander of the Baltic Border District Valentin Gaponenko.

An understanding was reached that border guards of the USSR and Latvia will jointly guard the borders of Latvia till the transfer of Soviet troops to the eastern frontier of the republic.

In the future Latvia's western border will be fully controlled by Latvian guards.

During the talks Gaponenko expressed readiness to sell several patrol boats to Latvian border guards to guarantee sea patrolling.

Government Registers Volunteer Border Guards

LD2908204891 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1500 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] The Council of Ministers of Latvia today issued instructions on the registering of volunteers for the border guard service. In connection with taking over the western border of the Republic of Latvia from the Baltic border guard district, it is necessary to prepare and to train workers of the border guard of Latvia. The registration of volunteers is being started by the public security department together with the self-governments of towns and rayons.

Border Protection Protocol Signed With KGB

LD2908232191 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1600 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] At the present moment, a protocol between the USSR State Security Committee and authorized persons of the Republic of Latvia is being signed in the Red Hall of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Latvia. The protocol deals with ending the activity of the USSR State Security Committee in Latvia and on protection of the borders of the Republic of Latvia. Border protection is carried out for us by the troops of the State Security Committee.

This protocol is being signed by Deputy Peteris Simsons, on behalf of the Supreme Council Presidium; and by Fedor Yasnikov, deputy head of foreign countries [as heard], and by Sergey Kondrashov, senior adviser to the head of the USSR State Security Committee, on behalf of the USSR State Security Committee.

Further on KGB Agreement

LD2908220591 Riga Radio Riga International in English 2030 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] At seven o'clock this evening, a joint protocol was signed concerning the mutual obligations of the Latvian Supreme Council Presidium and the Soviet KGB in regard to the Supreme Council decision of 24th August on the disbandment of the Soviet KGB in Latvia.

The protocol states that the KGB will operate abiding to the laws of the Republic of Latvia, that it will transfer all of its communications and control systems to the republic, and that it will return certain archival materials to Latvia.

It also states that all of the Soviet KGB's property will be transferred to the jurisdication of the Republic of Latvia.

KGB Staffer Commits Suicide; OMON Viewed

PM2908132991 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Aug 91 p 1

[Correspondent K. Markaryan report: "'Our' Boys Abroad"]

[Text] It seems that the spate of suicides in our country has only just begun. And it is not confined to Moscow. On 26 August, 55-year-old A. Grigoryev, a staffer of the KGB disbanded by a Latvian Supreme Soviet resolution, killed himself in Jurmala.

What about the Special-Purpose Militia Detachment [OMON]? An officer of the Riga detachment thinks that they themselves do not know what to do in this situation. Some state that Latvia was and will remain Soviet, others are more concerned for their own future. That is now being settled jointly with the local authorities and V. Rudyy, representative of the USSR Interior Ministry in Latvia. I would point out that the approaches to the base of the Riga OMON remain mined.

Internal Affairs Official To Discuss OMON

LD2908000491 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 0430 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] The deputy minister of internal affairs of the USSR, General (?Korpachev), has arrived in Riga to settle the question of liquidating the OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] unit. The OMON men themselves have said General (?Korpachev) will offer them work elsewhere, removing them to the territory of the USSR. They are reported to have said that they were born in Latvia and want to work here, too. The minister of internal affairs of the Republic of Latvia, Aloizs Vaznis, confirmed that representatives of the USSR Interior Ministry have arrived in Riga, with the aim of disarming and disbanding the unit of bandits.

'Equality' Faction Urges Amnesty for OMON

OW2908155891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1415 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Sergey Dimanis who leads the "Equality" faction in Lativa's parliament said at a press conference on Wednesday that the situation concerning the special police units called OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] is critical. He urged Latvia's parliament to declare at its Thursday's plenary session an amnesty to "all OMON members for their earlier deeds and instruct the republic's Interior Ministry to form a commission to take charge of OMON property".

Latvian MP Tatiana Zhdanok told newsmen that at the local OMON base members of the unit were joined 3 days ago by their wives and children. According to her, OMON members held a conference on Monday and adopted a statement which says: "Because of the changes in Latvia's political system OMON's further presence in Latvia is pointless".

Proceeding from this OMON members believe that the USSR Interior Ministry should settle together with Latvia's government the issue of stopping OMON activity in Latvia. With a view to resolving this issue the OMON members request the following guarantees from the Latvian Government:

- That the OMON base will not be attacked;

- That the safety of OMON members will be ensured and that members of their families will not be harassed;

- That guarantees will be given for their free passage to their places of residence in the USSR or other country.

Press Coverage of 'Black Berets' Restricted

LD3008010591 Riga Radio Riga International in English 2030 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] The Security Council of Latvia's Government adopted a decision late last night to interrupt the printing of all Latvia's newspapers which contain information on the Riga and Vilnius OMON units as tension in relations with OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] has mounted.

OMON, commonly known as the Black Berets, has been implicated in the events of the coup.

The printing of Latvia's largest newspapers was delayed until this morning. According to [name indistinct], editor-in-chief of the newspaper LATVIJAS JAUNATNE, all editors of Latvia's newspapers were asked to refrain from publishing any information about the Riga and Vilnius OMON units until Saturday.

As a sign of protest against the decision the Latvian newspaper DIENA is to leave a blank space in tomorrow's edition.

Diplomatic Passports From U.S. Recalled

LD2908061891 Riga Radio Riga Network in Russian 1300 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] Sandra Kalneite, deputy minister of foreign affairs, reports that Dainis Ivans, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of the republic, has sent a letter to Anatol Dinbergs, the leader of the Embassy of Latvia in Washington, requesting that he send back to Riga the diplomatic passports of the Republic of Latvia. Until now, they have been in the office of the Latvian Embassy in the United States. It has also been announced that a draft law is being prepared on a single passport system in Latvia.

Supreme Council Vice Chairman Interviewed

OW2908130391 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1015 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The parliament and government of Latvia fully control the situation in the republic. The statement was made in an interview with BF [BALTFAX] by the Vice Chairman of the Latvian parliament Dainis Ivans. However, there remains problems, specifically with the Riga black berets who refuse to lay down arms.

Ivans thinks that the behavior of the black berets results from the fact that reactionaries have come to [as received] after the failure of the coup and will try to reverse the situation in the near future.

In his opinion, the question of citizenship will become another problem in the near future. Ivans declared there will be no ethnic discrimination. He thinks that of late inter-ethnic relations in the republic have considerably improved, especially in the hard days of the coup when Latvians and non-Latvians stood shoulder to shoulder at rallies against the junta.

Anwering a question about the possibility of a witch-hunt in Latvia, Dainis Ivans said: "We are trying to see to it that this would not happen."

On the future of the Latvian Popular Front, Ivans said that it played a great role in the restoration of indepedence and democracy in Latvia. "It is the only actual political structure that has the support of the people and can guarantee the link between the people and the leadership of the republic," he said.

As for the restoration of diplomatic relations between Latvia and Russia, Ivans said that several days ago, he was in Leningrad where he held talks as a member of an official delegation on signing a special economic agreement that will become a part of a fundamental bilateral treaty with Russia.

Ownership, Personnel Changes in City of Liepaja

LD2808203891 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1730 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] A regular weekly press conference took place today at the board of the city of Liepaja. Journalists were informed that on Friday, the city board took over the building of the Communist Party of Latvia committee of the city of Liepaja. The House of Officers, which formerly belonged to the Society of Latvians, was also changing owners today. The commission for receiving the property of the Communist Party of Latvia; the State Security Committee; the Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy; and the Military Commissariat are in operation.

An active supporter of the putsch, the head of the Liepaja base of the ocean fishing fleet, (Serdar Cheparov), has been relieved of work. Captain (Valeriy Trukhin) has been entrusted with the leadership of the base.

The city board has proposed to the appropriate ministry that the director of the Ritums transport organization, (Anatoliy Bronnikov), and the director of the meat combine, (Aleksandr Shertnev) be relieved of work because last week, food supplies to people were delayed due to the poor work of the enterprises under their leadership.

An economic council of the city has been established in Liepaja composed of heads of large enterprises, financial inspectorate and bank workers, and other representatives of the public.

Lithuania

Diplomatic Relations Established With France

LD2908232391 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1600 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Our Supreme Council has probably never before seen so many high ranking foreign statesmen. Today our journalists met with Anders Bjoerk, president of the European Parliament. He said that Lithuania must join the European Council as soon as possible. Vytautas Landsbergis informed us that he handed over to Mr. Bjoerk an official statement of intention from the Supreme Council to become the [word indistinct] of the European Council.

The visit by French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas provoked great interest among the journalists. In their presence, Roland Dumas and the republic's foreign minister, Algirdas Saugardas, signed a communique on the restoration of diplomatic relations between Lithuania and France.

Vytautas Landsbergis and Roland Dumas held a news conference. Vytautas Landsbergis said that he had asked Mr. Dumas to deliver a letter to the UN general secretary. In this letter the wish of the Republic of Lithuania the United Nations is expressed.

Roland Dumas stressed that France will willingly mediate Lithuania's admittance to other international organizations. Roland Dumas also stated that France is ready to return to Lithuania its gold. "We were the guardians of your gold in France and now the time has come to return it," Mr. Dumas stated.

On the whole, the journalists' encounter with the French foreign minister was very warm. Mr. Dumas said he is proud of visiting Lithuania's parliament where there are still signs testifying to the struggle of the people of Lithuania for freedom. He is proud of being the first Western foreign minister to visit Vilnius.

During the news conference, Vytautas Landsbergis was asked his opinion about the present stand of Germany. Vytautas Landsbergis said:

[Begin Landsbergis recording] Indeed, Germany today is very important [words indistinct] restoring diplomatic relations with the Republic of Lithuania. [words indistinct] because Germany was one of the perpetrators of the loss of independence by Lithuania and of the beginning of World War II. I have applied by various means to the great powers, to European and other organizations seeking how to advance the problem of the independence of Lithuania and the Baltic. One such attempt has been a proposal to the Soviet Union and Germany, as two states that started our misfortunes, to meet in a joint conference of two plus three—two culprits and three victims. These proposals have not met with a positive reply, but at present, Germany, as a European state, undoubtedly understands and (?will take this step). The part played by this state in our fate was exceptional and I hope that Germany will display more initiative to ensure that the misfortunes brought to Lithuania by World War II will be (?overcome) as soon as possible. [end recording]

That is how Vytautas Landsbergis assessed Germany' stand toward the Baltic states.

TASS Report

LD2908175691 Moscow TASS in English 1156 GMT 29 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Kazis Ustsila]

[Text] Vilnius August 29 TASS—French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas arrived on an official visit in the Lithuanian capital today.

Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis told a briefing for local and foreign journalists today that the two sides will discuss support for Lithuania's bid for independence that started last autumn during a visit to France by the head of the Lithuanian Parliament and ways to further develop cooperation between Lithuania and France.

He expressed hope that as a result of today's meeting with the French foreign minister, the two countries will open missions in Paris and Vilnius.

New Swedish Ambassador Presents Credentials

LD2908224491 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1600 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Half an hour ago, Lars Magnusson, ambassador of the Kingdom of Sweden, presented his credentials to Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania.

As is known, the Embassy of the Kingdom of Sweden was opened today on Jogaila street in Vilnius.

Council Demands Full Withdrawal of Soviet Forces

LD2808152491 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1300 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] A decision has been adopted by the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania concerning full withdrawal of the USSR Armed Forces from the territory of the Republic of Lithuania.

On the basis of clearly voiced demands by the majority of the people of Lithuania to withdraw the USSR Armed Forces from the territory of the Republic of Lithuania without delay, regarding the presence of the Soviet Armed Forces on the territory of the Republic of Lithuania as a relic of World War II, and reinstating once again the unvariable determination concerning the withdrawal of the Soviet Armed Forces from the territory of the Republic of Lithuania, the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania has decided:

1. To demand from the Soviet Union that units of the USSR infantry, Navy, Air Force, Missile Forces, and all other types of military forces be fully withdrawn from the territory of the Republic of Lithuania according to the schedule coordinated with the Republic of Lithuania.

2. To ask the Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the Republic of France to resolutely support the demand by the Republic of Lithuania that the USSR Armed Forces be fully withdrawn from the territory of the Republic of Lithuania.

3. To ask all member states of the United Nations to demand that the lawful demand of the Republic of Lithuania that all USSR military be fully withdrawn from the territory of the Republic of Lithuania be carried out unconditionally by the Soviet Union.

IZVESTIYA Report

PM3008095991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Aug 91 Union Edition p 2

[Nikolay Lashkevich article under "Direct Line" rubric: "Troops Will Leave Lithuania"]

[Text] Vilnius—On the last day of its work, an extraordinary session of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet adopted a resolution on the complete withdrawal of the Soviet Armed Forces on agreed dates from the republic's territory.

Deputies asked the United States, Britain, and France to support this demand. Lithuania has currently already received assurances from the new USSR defense minister, Ye. Shaposhnikov, that the Vilnius OMON [Special-Purpose Militia Detachment] will be withdrawn from Lithuania.

The problem of the customs service is on the point of being resolved. Only Lithuanian customs officials are at work at Lazdiai, the customs post on the Polish border. Joint customs inspections are still being carried out at Klaipeda maritime port and Vilnius Airport.

The Lithuanian parliament adopted a number of resolutions. The document "On Investigating the Activity of Certain Supreme Soviet Deputies" tasks the Lithuanian Prosecutor's Office with investigating by 15 September this year "whether there were Supreme Soviet deputies among the people who committed criminal acts against the Lithuanian Republic or facilitated such acts." A resolution has been adopted "On Investigating the Activity of the USSR KGB in Lithuania."

At the same time, the Vilnius Prosecutor's Office has asked the city's residents to give written reports on those people who backed the putschists and organized and carried out criminal acts against the republic. The leaders of a dozen or so Lithuanian enterprises have been removed from their posts.

Lithuanian Servicemen in Soviet Army Demobilize

LD3008105891 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] The government press bureau is authorized to state that thanks to the negotiations by Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania, and by the Government of the Republic of Lithuania, it has been agreed that citizens of the Republic of Lithuania serving in the Soviet Army will be demobilized.

This information has been conveyed to Deputy Prime Minister Zigmas Vaisvila by Valeriy Mironov, commander of the Soviet army's Baltic Military District.

This means that the Soviet Government is de facto recognizing the independence of the Republic of Lithuania. Such constructive steps by the Soviet Union's leadership build foundations for future friendly state relations between Lithuania and the Soviet Union.

The Government of the Republic of Lithuania asks all Lithuanian youths serving in the Soviet Army not to leave military units before the fixed time. The Government of the Republic of Lithuania also expresses its thanks to all Lithuanian youths who, during the dramatic time of the restoration of independence, refused to serve in the Soviet Army. Risking your freedom and even your life, you have made a great contribution to the restoration of the Lithuanian state.

Urged Not To Go AWOL

PM2908092291 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Aug 91 Single Edition p 5

[TASS correspondent K. Ustsila report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Appeal to Lithuanian Young Men"]

[Text] Vilnius, 27 Aug—Do not go absent without leave from your assignment in the Soviet Army—the Lithuanian Government made this appeal to Lithuanian young men on active military service in the Soviet Union.

Lithuanian representatives are making efforts to ensure that questions of demobilizing young men are resolved on a legal basis, by agreement with the USSR Defense Ministry. Therefore those who are still serving have been instructed to continue to do so until the USSR defense minister issues the relevant decree.

Government Reassures Soviet Servicemen

LD2908111591 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] The government has assured that Soviet servicemen and families have no reason to be anxious about their safety. They will not be persecuted and no acts of coercion can be made against them.

A statement by the Press Bureau also says that the servicemen, wishing to maintain good relations with the people of Lithuania should not interfere into the republic's internal affairs and should avoid any unnecessary demonstration of weapons.

Agreement With Soviets on Polish Border Control

OW2908151491 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1415 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The general director of the Lithuanian Home Defence Department, Audrius Butkevicius, has signed an agreement with representatives of the Soviet border guards, according to which for the time being both Lithuanian and Soviet border guards will man the Lithuanian-Polish frontier.

Mr. Butkevicius said in an interview with a BALTFAX correspondent that this would allow the Lithuanians gradually to "take over" the state border while at the same time receiving the necessary preparation.

"Lithuania is ready to take over the manning of its land borders tomorrow", declared Butkevicius. But he stressed that first of all it was necessary to reach a political agreement and sign the appropriate treaties. Meanwhile the control of territorial waters and air space presents greater difficulties. The general director said that these had been identified as problems which would need to be settled by negotiation. This could take several weeks.

Soviet, Republic Officials Discuss Nuclear Plant

LD2908001391 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] On 26-27 August, delegations of the Lithuanian Ministry of Power Engineering and the Soviet Union's Ministry of Nuclear Power Industry met in Vilnius. The delegations discussed problems at the Ignalina nuclear power station. In the meeting protocol, the delegations state that the Ignalina nuclear power station falls under the jurisdiction of the Republic of Lithuania as Lithuania's state property if a different agreement is not reached during the interstate negotiations between Lithuania and the Soviet Union. Until a joint organ fulfilling the function of the governing organization is formed, the Soviet Union's Ministry of Nuclear Power Industry remains responsible for safety at Ignalina nuclear power station.

It was agreed that by 10 September, authorized delegations will meet to prepare a ministerial agreement on cooperation in the sphere of nuclear power. During the preparation of the agreement, some very important issues are to be examined. For example, social guarantees and the rights of the Soviet citizens in the Snieckus settlement, the supply of nuclear fuel, equipment and spare parts for the power station, the transportation of waste fuel and radioactive waste, the training of the personnel, and the protection of the nuclear power station.

Landsbergis on Necessary Reforms in Baltic States

AU2908150091 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 29 Aug 91 p 6

[Interview with Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis by Michael Stoessinger; place and date not given: "Where Shall I Find the Diplomats?"]

[Text] [Stoessinger] Your appeal to the world during the dramatic days in January remained unheeded. Now the Western countries are lining up to recognize the Baltic states. Does this give you satisfaction in view of the past events?

[Landsbergis] Of course, we need not be dissatisfied. After all, we have waited long enough. But the biggest problem that we have now is: I do not know where I shall find the many diplomats.

[Stoessinger] In view of the failed coup in Moscow, how do you assess the power relationship between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev?

[Landsbergis] I do not believe that there is anything still worth discussing in this connection. This is no longer an issue, the answer was given last week. Concerning the Russian president, I would like to say: Boris Yeltsin was the one who helped us most in these difficult times. We do not know in detail what the Western states really did, but they did not do anything in public in the past.

[Stoessinger] More and more republics are declaring their independence. What will happen to the USSR?

[Landsbergis] One thing is quite clear now: The old Soviet Union no longer exists. The future will show whether a new union comes into existence. It is still too early to talk about this. Time is moving on more rapidly. There have been so many changes in a week, on one single day, in one month, that one cannot say anything final. I can only say that we are facing a lot of work. First, we have to put the structures that are linked with the borders of our sovereign country in order. The decisive question is how international coexistence will develop on the basis of diplomatic relations.

Parallel to that, trade with international business must be developed. The decisive thing is that we have to make good the big backlogs in communication. We are returning to the international organizations, and we do not want any delay in this.

[Stoessinger] What could be the reason for a delay? After the events in January in your country and in Latvia, and, above all, after the events in Moscow, do you see a danger of the coup being repeated? How strong are the conservative forces?

[Landsbergis] Of course, the Moscow coup is to be seen in close connection with what happened here in our country and in Latvia in January. However, I do not think that it is possible for conservative forces to prepare a large-scale putsch again. However, it cannot be ruled out that there might be uprisings in various regions. I can certainly imagine that in some areas, the rabble of soldiers will try, in cooperation with people who adhere to fascist ideas, to stop the developments.

[Stoessinger] Referring to the Baltic republics, this means that you can generally rule out dangers?

[Landsbergis] One cannot rule this out generally, and this is why there are still barriers in our country. As long as the OMON [Special Purpose Military Detachment] special unit has not been disarmed and we do not have any comprehensive information about the work of various armed underground groups, there is still a danger to public institutions. Work has to be started immediately in this field. The first steps have been introduced, the new defense minister will send a delegation soon to discuss the relevant issues.

[Stoessinger] When will the Army withdraw from the Baltic states?

[Landsbergis] This is also an issue for the negotiations. One cannot yet tell. Here we have a situation that is different from the one in Germany, for instance, where there is a U.S. military presence. There, foreign military were necessary; here in Lithuania we do not need any foreign military.

[Stoessinger] How do you intend to come to grips with the economic problems in your country? Do you not fear a collapse of the economy, as in Poland or in the CSFR?

[Landsbergis] We have to deal with many things here, with the mistakes and errors of Soviet economic policy. Of course, we are thinking of introducing foreign currency [Valuta]. I can only hope that our policy will be more flexible than the old one in this country.

Statistics Department Publishes Damage Report

OW2908135891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1015 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Lithuanian Department of Statistics has announced that the damage done to the republic by the actions of the military in the first six months of the year totals 81.1 million rubles. Ninety-nine percent of the damage was done to Vilnius, 65 percent in the Lithuanian Ministry of Communications.

The Lithuanian Press Association lost 18 million rubles, the Lithuanian TV and Radio Company 19 million.

Deputy Foreign Minister on Failed Coup

AU2908091491 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 27 Aug 91 pp 1,3

[Interview with Ronas Grisas, deputy foreign minister of Lithuania, by Andrej Kiss in Vilnius; date not given: "Lithuania Will Send an Ambassador to Russia"]

[Text] The radical reform process produced by the failed conservative coup attempt is progressing with breathtaking speed in the Soviet Union. We asked Ronas Grisas if Lithuania has already gained full independence in his opinion.

[Grisas] I think it has because our borders are partly guarded by us and our customs officers have completely taken over the work of their Soviet colleagues.

[Kiss] Do you think that the Supreme Soviet's decisions cannot alter this situation any more?

[Grisas] It appears that the Supreme Soviet is not playing a decisive role just now because it has the old set-up. We do not know whether it will be able to match up to the size of the task and modify its previous views.

[Kiss] How did the Lithuanian Government see the events from Vilnius; what or, more precisely, who brought about the defeat of the putschists?

[Rosas] It is clear that Yeltsin and his immediate colleagues deserve the main credit. At the same time, the people in Moscow held out bravely and so did the many soldiers who refused to execute the orders.

[Kiss] What is the most important task to be solved in Lithuania?

[Rosas] We must not delay taking over the complete guarding of our borders as is expected from a sovereign country.

[Kiss] How many countries have so far acknowledged Lithuania's independence?

[Rosas] Iceland, Denmark, Norway, and Russia consider Lithuania a sovereign state. A dozen other countries have indicated that we do not have to wait much longer now.

[Kiss] When will you open your embassy in Moscow?

[Rosas] We have to separate the Soviet Union from Russia here. I cannot make predictions in connection with the Soviet Union yet. We will accredit our ambassador to Russia soon, this autumn.

[Kiss] What kind of relationship do you have with the Soviet troops that will probably be temporarily stationed in your republic?

[Rosas] We have not sensed any aggressiveness on their part since the commander of the Baltic Military District was removed and a new commander was also appointed to the Army corps stationed in Lithuania. The only question is the presence of the OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] assault troops. They have not left Lithuania in spite of our repeated demands. They have emptied their buildings and moved to Army barracks. They are aware that the Army's reform in Moscow is different from reforms here, in the outlying areas. However, our three-member governmental committee is conducting constant negotiations with the local military leadership.

Yeltsin Delivers Address to 'All Russians'

LD2908153291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1124 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Address by Boris Yeltsin, Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic president, "to all Russians"; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed listeners, citizens of Russia: I have had to speak to you more frequently recently, but this is probably justified. The events in Russia and the country are developing at a headlong pace and everything is changing before our very eyes. I am convinced that you should be told about all the moves the Russian leadership is making.

The situation in the country since the putsch was defeated has changed radically. The main levers of power are falling from the hands of those forces which have led the country for decades. The previously unshakable structures of the party apparatus, the KGB, and those state bodies that carried out their will in practice are collapsing. Figuratively speaking, the caving-in of the Union's center is occurring; a caving-in of that powerful, bureaucratic system which has for six years stood in the path of change.

All that time, the country's democratic forces, including the parliament and government of Russia, insisted on radical reforms of the center. Instead of carrying them out, the Union bureaucracy used every opportunity to strengthen its positions. They made every effort to impede progressive changes in the republics and, first and foremost, in Russia. As a result, a real danger hung over them in the form of the imminent signing of the Union treaty, and they resorted to extreme measures. They carried out an antipopular coup d'etat. But they were swept aside by the people in the shortest possible time.

Everything that is happening is causing people great anxiety and alarm. Will the recent events not lead to chaos and anarchy? I would like to assure my fellow countrymen that I, as the president, and the republican leadership are fully in control of the situation in Russia and its regions. We have enough opportunities to maintain stability and ensure a peaceful nature of changes in this complex time. We are maintaining constant contact with President Gorbachev and republican leaders and we are coordinating our actions. I want to state firmly that the collapse of the center is not tantamount to a collapse of the country, let alone Russia. The time has passed when the party and its structure were all powerful. In recent times the system of legal authority has become sufficiently strengthened. A parliament that was elected in democratic fashion is operating in Russia. Its executive structure is strengthened by the election of the president. The political course which we are conducting relies on the support of the people.

Similar changes have taken place in other republics. Confusion and panic arise in those places where the organs of power were a mask for the partyocracy, and particular attention is being paid to these regions.

At the same time, there is today much that is new in the actions of the Russian leadership. After the liquidation of the coup a transitional period has in effect begun in the country. Movement has already begun from the state structures' economic monopoly toward the market; from the bureaucratic apparatus' absolute power and lack of supervision toward democracy; from the ideological dictate of the CPSU to spiritual freedom; from a unitary, over-centralized society toward a free union of sovereign states.

The main essence of the transitional period lies in the de-Communization of all spheres of life of our society. The new situation requires the urgent resolution of a number of problems.

First, everyone is worried about the fate of the Union and expresses alarm about its future. Indeed, the coup was a powerful strike against the country. It wrecked the signing of the Union treaty and strengthened centrifugal tendencies. The situation is really complicated but far from hopeless. Over the past few days I have had constant meetings with leaders of the other republics, and had conversations with them by telephone, and I am convinced once again that the idea of the Union is not exhausted. The striving to create a new, really free, really voluntary Union of sovereign and, I stress, equal states remains strong. The events have only made our ideas about it more precise. We should not be frightened by the fact that a number of republics have declared their independence. Full-blooded states and not phantoms will be united in the Union. It is only then that they will receive the opportunity to really delegate to the Union a number of their functions.

The republics themselves will create a new center with administrative bodies for the most important areas—for the coordination of economic reform, for the armed forces, the nuclear potential, and others. They clearly determine which bodies of power are necessary at a Union level and delineate the sphere of their competence and their structure.

I stress that a union center must exist but the number of its staff and the expenditure on maintaining it must be sharply reduced. Other republics have supported us on this issue. I have had a meeting with Kazakhstan President Nazarbayev and we confirmed our adherence to the Union. A meeting with the leaders of the Russian Federation's republics has taken place. It was confirmed there that a single and indivisible Russia must be part of the Union.

Second, the defeat of reaction has raised the following question: Are democratic forces going to abuse their victory? I firmly state that the party and bureaucratic dictatorship will not be replaced by a dictatorship of democrats, let alone Russian democrats. We intend to promote too, the development of democractic processes and the shaping of a state based on the rule of law in the future, too. This is especially important during a transitional period. The activity of the Russian Communist Party and a number of newspapers has been suspended now. There is a great deal of speculation on this topic. The purpose of these measures is to clarify the extent of real participation of these publications and officials in the criminal antistate activity but not simply to ban them.

Incidentally, the MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA has ceased to be an organ of the Moscow City Party Committee; instead, the collective has taken it as an organ of the collegium and editorial board of the newspaper itself, and today, when it appeared for the first time after this break, it even carries the number 1; that is, the name is seemingly old but it is a completely new newapaper, of course. I think the same thing will happen to other newspapers too.

Regarding parties, I confirm my adherence to the principle of a multiparty system. Yet I believe that in a democratic law-based state it is intolerable that one party or another should rise above the state or, moreover, have the potential carry out coups. At the same time, I would like to state that I am oppose any kind of violation of the rights of rank and file Communists or of revenge against the people who have worked in the apparatus, especially as now there is information about delays in paying salaries even to technical staff. I have given instructions to the minister of finance to rectify the situation immediately. Justice must triumph in this area.

Regarding the party's property: Yes, now soviets, including the Directorate of Property of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, will be specifically distributing the property. But I want to assure all the citizens of Russia that this does not mean that sanatoriums, leisure centers, dachas, and so on, will be transferred from the use of one group of bosses to another. No, they will be handed over for general use by all the people. We must be above all this. The proposals on the self-dissolution of the CPSU are being made by the communists themselves. It is they who will settle its destiny.

Third, during the days of the coup, the question of the future of the armed forces of the country was once again raised in a distressed form. Russia and the other republics became convinced of the necessity to form republican units along the lines of a national guard. This must, of course, be created on a clear legal basis. What we have in mind is a national guard of Russia, for example, comprising 3,000-4,000 men, to enable us to defend ourselves in situations such as that of 19, 20, and 21 August.

In order that reform may be carried out in the armed forces today I proposed to President Gorbachev that a special committee be set up to prepare a draft for such a reform and that Konstantin Ivanovich Kobets should head this committee. I signed a special instruction today on increasing the state of social protection of military servicemen who are carrying out their service on the territory of the Russian Federation, which is what I promised during the Russian presidential election campaign. The majority of military units deserve deep gratitude and approval during the period of this putsch in which they either simply did not participate or were neutral. I hope there will be no vulgar abuse of the armed forces nor any persecutions; on the contrary, servicemen should be defended insofar as the armed forces did not come out against the people, but against the junta.

At the same time, the other republics and the Russian Federation all firmly believe that there should exist a united armed forces of the Union. Any division of strategic weapons among the republics which would create an additional threat to peace is categorically ruled out.

Fourth, it is our common duty to preserve stability and calm in the Union, and prevent civil confrontation. The putsch got the population worked up; it exacerbated many contradictions and aroused an outburst of emotions.

We must not allow them to take possession of society and engender a wave of brutality and revenge. It must be the appropriate bodies of the procuracy who carry out the investigation of all the circumstances of the revolt; it must be the courts that deal with it. There must be no more witch hunts, as was once the case. This concerns those many people who at that moment simply lost their heads and could not immediately decide what their position was. We will allow no working over in collectives, none of the notorious comrades' courts and so on: These are a legacy of the past system and must be rejected. I believe that I have the moral right to call upon you not to emulate those who not so very long ago defamed many honest people, including myself. Only those whose actions come under the appropriate articles of the law and the Criminal Code must be brought to account. The children and families and relatives of those involved in the putsch are protected by the law: No encroachment upon their rights must be permitted.

Fifth, the coup unsettled us all, diverted us from the major problems of the country and of Russia. We defended democracy and rebuffed dictatorship. The main thing now is to restore the normal labor rhythm as soon as possible. That is, there must be an end to the euphoria of victory.

We shall not forget that winter is just around the corner, that the harvest, though perhaps not as rich as last year, is ready and has to be brought in. Measures are indeed now being taken: Servicemen have responded very well to our appeal for help, and they are ready to help approximately up to the end of the harvest campaign. We have a great deal to do here, and the utmost self-discipline is needed.

Yesterday, I went to the State Council of Russia, which determined the priority tasks in the Russian Federation. I promise to inform you about all the major steps of the Russian leadership in our next meetings.

Thank you for your attention.

'Instruction' on Military's Protection

LD3008125991 Moscow TASS in English 1143 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 30 TASS—President Boris Yeltsin of Russia issued an instruction on strengthening social protection of the military serving on territory of the Russian Federation.

The instruction was issued for the purpose of ensuring measures to secure safety of citizens of the USSR and protect the constitutional system of the Russian Federation, create conditions and guarantees for the proper performance of the military duty and service rules by the military on actual service on the territory of the Russian Federation, as well as by citizens of the Russian Federation serving on territories of other Soviet republics.

The instruction envisages expediting the preparation of relevant bills of the Russian Federation, purpose-oriented financing in 1992 and transferring directly to the USSR Defence Ministry money for the upkeep of the military on the territory of the Russian Federation within the competence of the Russian Federation.

The Russian Federation Defence Committee is entrusted with promptly finalizing the draft military reform to ensure defence sufficiency, protection of the constitutional system and statehood of the Russian Federation, and submitting it to the Russian Federation parliament.

Yeltsin: Ukraine To Transfer Nuclear Arms

AU2808152091 Paris AFP in English 1514 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, Aug 28 (AFP)—Ukraine has decided to transfer its nuclear potential to the Russian Federation, Russian President Boris Yeltsin said on Wednesday.

He made the statement in an exchange at the Russian parliament with 350 delegates of Russian origin who are attending the first International Congress of Compatriots here.

Asked by a delegate what would be done with the nuclear weapons of breakaway Soviet republics such as Ukraine, Yeltsin replied, "Ukraine has declared itself a nuclear-free power, and agreed to move all its nuclear potential to the Russian Federation." He did not give further details.

Rutskoy Departs for Kazakhstan on Border Issue

LD2908191791 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1800 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] A delegation of Russian parliamentarians headed by Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Vice President Rutskoy has flown to Alma-Ata. What is going on in the Kazakh Republic and what has caused this complex situation? A TASS correspondent asked Valeriy Timerbayev, Kazakhstan's permanent representative in Moscow, to reply to this question. He said that the well-known statement by the USSR [as heard] president's press secretary concerning territorial issues had aroused contradictory comments in the republic. These words in no way correspond to the treaty signed last year between Russia and Kazakhstan.

Nazarbayev, the president of Kazakhstan, today sent the relevant telegram addressed to the country's president, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the Russian parliament. They express alarm over the above-mentioned statement.

Kobets Proposes Formation of 'Territorial' Guard

PM2908110891 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Aug 91 Single Edition p 1

[Report under the "Our Digest" rubric citing MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI 28 August interview with Army General K. Kobets; place and date not given: "What People Say and Write"]

[Text] [Kobets] The aims of the (national) guard are still at the drawing-board stage. I believe that they will be territorial defense troops. The guardsmen would work in production but would be mobilized at times when it is necessary to defend the constitutional system.

[MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI] Is this a constituent part of the military reform that is being prepared?

[Kobets] Yes. Its other components are the replacement of the Armed Forces' leadership, the elimination of political organs in the Army, departyization, and the creation at Union level of a military collegium consisting of representatives of all the republics which sign the Union Treaty.

...As soon as these tasks have been resolved, questions of the level of defense sufficiency and the funding of military programs should be examined. Then the Armed Forces will be transferred to a mixed manning procedure: professional, contract, and draft.

In addition, we will propose combining the strategic forces—Missile Forces, Air Defense, and the Air Force—in a single command.

Foreign Minister Continues Visit to Hungary

Comments on Ties With E. Europe

LD2708183791 Moscow TASS in English 1802 GMT 27 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Zhirnikhin and Aleksandr Smirnov]

[Text] Budapest August 27 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev today began an official visit to Hungary.

Responding to questions by the TASS correspondents, Kozyrev said: "We are at long last overcoming residual notions of the "lost of Eastern Europe", the idea that governments, which can be potentially "suspicious or hostile" to us, were formed in the countries in this region.

"Precisely the part of the Soviet Communist Party apparatus that is now leaving the political arena had abided by such views. Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev discarded this concept and the Russian leadership had done this even ealier," Kozyrev stressed.

"Arguments about the loss of Eastern Europe were based on prejudice towards the democratic revolutions that took place there. Yeltsin's visit to Czechoslovakia showed that progressive transformations in this region do not represent a loss for democratic Russia.

"Conversely, they brought Central and East European countries and Russia as it is today closer together. There is a chance now for the same radical change in orientation on the international scene to occur for the entire Soviet Union. Actually, it will be a logical fruition of the process, the beginning to which was set by new political thinking," Kozyrev told his interviewers.

Kozyrev said he had a substantive talk with Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky today. "It demonstrated that we are finally reaching out totally de-ideologised relations and are shunning the ideology of the so-called socialist camp.

"On the other hand, a peculiar new ideology, about which Andrey Sakharov spoke at one time, is being evolved now. All ideologies should give way to the ideology of democratic values. We need to overcome the totalitarian past and step onto the road of building a democratic future," Kozyrev said.

"Talks with the Hungarian minister showed that this is not the moment for euphoria. We need to share experience in the interests of developing political, economic and other ties. New economic relationships should rely on the encouragement of direct contacts between participants in market relations," Kozyrev said.

Assesses Future of Union

AU3008080691 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 28 Aug 91 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Andrey Kozyrev, Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic foreign minister, by Csaba Nagy and Peter Vajda in Budapest on 27 August: "Peaceful Solution to Border Disputes"]

[Text] Shortly after meeting with [Hungarian Foreign Minister] Geza Jeszenszky, Andrey Kozyrev granted an interview to NEPSZABADSAG. The diplomat, who has been foreign minister since October 1990, spoke among other things about the possible future of the Soviet Union and the relations between Yeltsin and Gorbachev. Kozyrev was the first to condemn officially Soviet intervention in Hungary in 1956.

[NEPSZABADSAG] What did you discuss with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky?

[Kozyrev] We spoke about direct bilateral relations between the Russian Republic and the Hungarian Republic, with a view to strengthening Soviet-Hungarian relations in general. Our talks focused on the preparations for the upcoming visit by Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin to Hungary, probably before the end of this year.

In addition, considering the new situation, we reviewed the entire range of our political and economic relations in order to put these relations on a contractual footing.

I conveyed the Russian leadership's thanks to the Hungarian Government for the support we received during the coup attempt. I must point out that the message of support coming from the Hungarian Parliament during the difficult days of resistance was one of the first, or perhaps the very first, message on the list of such messages coming to the Russian White House. We do not regard the Hungarian democracy and the other democracies in Eastern Europe as some kind of loss for us. On the contrary, we regard them as a historic success and our natural allies. Positive factors, like the Hungarians' historic friendship and sympathy toward the Russian people, are now beginning to affect our relations by further building our relations on these common bases. With the end of communist ideology, the normal historic forces, which have always existed, can finally function freely. As for the economic sphere, we agreed to consider new ways and means to enable us to implement all those things that have been unusual so far; for example, relations based on market conditions and specific interests, but supported by our governments. Assessing our talks, I am extremely satisfied and looking forward with great expectation to meeting Prime Minister Jozsef Antall on 28 August.

[NEPSZABADSAG] You said you hoped that the various republics would remain part of the Soviet Union, in one way or another. Through his press secretary, Yeltsin declared that with the exception of the Baltic republics, the Russian Federation maintains its right to reexamine the borders if the individual republics unilaterally declare their independence. What does this mean? Obviously, others are also askaing this question. The leaders of some republics were quite surprised by Yeltsin's words.

[Kozyrev] This was a statement made by Yeltsin's press secretary. I can assure you that these words should be interpreted as the Russian leadership's consistent commitment to the CSCE process. The inviolability of borders is one of the basic principles of the process of European security. This means that all the member states will refrain from using force, even if they are not satisfied with the currently recognized borders. At the same time, the aforementioned principle also means that it is possible to negotiate on possible border adjustments, but such changes can only be carried out in a peaceful way, by means of compromises. Therefore, the aforementioned statement should be interpreted as one that presupposes strict adherence to those principles. We start from the premise that if some republics want to separate from the union, we will adhere to the aforementioned Helsinki principles. Besides, we have already signed bilateral agreements with these republics—the Ukraine, Belorussia, and Kazakhstan—and the CSCE principles represent the basis of these agreements too.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Speaking about borders, in the new situation, has Russia's position on the future of the Kuril Islands changed?

[Kozyrev] Our position, which is in harmony with that of the Soviet Union, is that we acknowledge the existence of this problem. We will negotiate with Japan on working out a peace treaty that will have to include the issue of controversial areas. We want to use the stipulations of international law as our starting point.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Mr. Kozyrev, is there a danger of civil war in Russia or on the territory of the present Soviet Union?

[Kozyrev] I see such a danger, and one form of civil war clearly emerged a few days ago.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Could something like this happen again?

[Kozyrev] The danger of violence is present all the time. There is, however, a democratically elected leadership that has the people's confidence, and this leadership firmly relies on peaceful methods. Another positive element is that resistance to the putschists has proved that the nation definitely hates violence. This is one of the reasons the putschists were defeated: The Army refused to shoot, and even the KGB special units refused to obey. Another thing that speaks against a civil war is that unlike previous historic changes, this time there is no real foreign threat, and the foreign conditions are favorable today.

[NEPSZABADSAG] In your opinion, what are the dangers of nationalism within the Soviet Union?

[Kozyrev] Indeed, one needs extreme tactical sense and great patience and determination. I think it is extremely important to find the correct method of integrating all the republics into the CSCE process as soon as possible. Thus, they could become full participants in this process, and this means responsible adherence to the principles and obligations spelled out in Helsinki, including respect of the rights of all the national minorities, human rights, democracy, and national minorities. To sum up, the CSCE process is a rich source of all these principles. We must defeat resistance that stipulates that only the Soviet Union could be part of the CSCE process. We must find suitable means to make sure that all the republics themselves feel they are directly participating in this process and directly accepting the obligations concomitant with this process.

[NEPSZABADSAG] On Monday, Ion Aurel Stoica, the executive president of the National Salvation Front in Romania, referred to the probable declaration of independence by the Moldovan parliament and said that this declaration would be something that every Romanian had been waiting for for 50 years. What is your opinion about this?

[Kozyrev] I can only repeat and say that I see no other way but the CSCE process for settling such issues. We can only use methods that Western Europe has already used. Besides, that part of Europe also experienced a period of bloody wars, territorial demands and ethnic violence. Take a look at the map of Western Europe. There are no ideal and classic national borders anywhere. Have you seen such borders anywhere? They found the only possible solution after centuries of bloody conflict. This solution is based on the assertion of the aforementioned principles, including the possibility of free movement. Although West European borders are also imperfect, this does not represent a big problem because these are open borders. People can travel from one country to another without problems. The Berlin Wall has collapsed. I cannot imagine anything new in eastern Europe. We must follow the well-worn path that has been guaranteeing peace in Western Europe for 40 years.

All I am saying is that with the totalitarian communist ideology, eastern Europe artificially froze the natural processes and swept its problems under the rug. We must carry out the changes at an accelerated pace, unlike other countries that had more time for this. Western Europe needed some 45 years to make the people understand that they should not argue over borders or demand territory from other countries, but they should live a life worthy of a human being, starting from well-determined norms.

[NEPSZABADSAG] The Soviet Union has already officially declared that the intervention in the CSSR in 1968 was a wrong step. The Soviet Union has not yet made, however, a similar evaluation of the intervention in Hungary in 1956. What is your personal opinion about this?

[Kozyrev] I think that the armed intervention in Hungary in 1956 was a mistake, an inadmissible step, an interference in Hungary's internal affairs.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Yeltsin's prestige is now at its zenith, but Gorbachev's prestige is constantly declining. Do you agree with this? What do you think about the future?

[Kozyrev] The increase or decrease of a political leader's prestige does not mean much in itself. I do not have concrete data on this subject. We know that the overwhelming majority of Russian people voted for Yeltsin in elections one month ago. This is an unquestionable manifestation of support enjoyed by a political leader. This was the support that hindered the putschist junta. The junta failed when they confronted the legal Russian president, and the Army refused to use their arms against the Russian president. I think this is the answer. It is very important to have a leader who has such great support in the largest republic of the Soviet Union. As for Gorbachev, we fought for the return to power of the legal head of the Soviet Union. Gorbachev himself, however, declared in the Soviet Parliament that he considered it necessary to hold a referendum as soon as possible, a referendum to decide on the federal president. This will show the popularity of every nominee, including Gorbachev's popularity.

Chairmen of Supreme Soviets Issue Statement

CM3008115091 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Aug 91 p 1

[From the Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic [RSFSR] President's Information Department: "Statement by the Chairmen of the Supreme Soviets of the Republics Within the RSFSR"; date not given]

[Text] We, the leaders of the republics which are within the Russian Federation consider it necessary to state that during the period of the state coup, our republics expressed themselves as supporters of the legally elected authorities of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic], its constitution, and laws, and we did not obey a single resolution or order of the so-called State Committee for the State of Emergency [SCSE].

Our republics are in favor of preserving the Russian Federation as a single and indivisible state sanctified by its age-old traditions and glorious history as a single multi-ethnic family of our peoples.

We consider it necessary to adopt emergency measures to stabilize the political situation in the country, the basis of which can only be a Union treaty, worked out by taking into account the situation which has arisen. We state that the Union treaty should be signed in the name of the RSFSR by a united Russian Federation.

We consider that in the given situation, the decisive condition for getting the country out of crisis and stabilizing the economy can only be the immediate and resolute carrying-out of radical economic reforms.

We appeal to all citizens, to all peoples and national groupings within great Russia at this difficult hour to come together and pool efforts to strengthen the unity and might of our homeland.

We call for the unification and cohesion of the peoples from all the republics of the Soviet Union. Only along this path lies the guarantee that our country will occupy a worthy place in the world community.

[Signed] A. Galazov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the North Ossetian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]
V. Stepanov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Karelian Autonomous SSR [ASSR]
M. Nikolayev, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Yakut-Sakha SSR
V. Tubylov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Udmurt ASSR (Udmurt republic)
V. Basanov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Kalmyk SSR
M. Magomedov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Dagestan SSR
Yu. Spiridonov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Komi SSR
M. Rakhimov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Bashkir SSR
N. Biryukov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Mordovan SSR
V. Zotin, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Mari SSR

Support Unified Republic

LD3008063291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0300 GMT 30 Agu 91

[Text] The leaders of the supreme soviets of the republics that are members of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic] have made a statement in which they have expressed themselves in favor of the preservation of the Russian Federation as a unified and indivisible state. We consider it necessary to adopt emergency measures to stabilize the political situation in the country, the basis of which can only be the Union treaty worked up taking into account the situation that has taken shape. This is stated in the document.

Majority Want Federation

OW2908123691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1045 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The chairmen of parliaments of 10 out of 15 republics belonging to the Russian Federation have spoken for "preserving the Russian Federation as a united and indivisible state".

The heads of the parliaments of North Ossetia, Karelia, Yakutia, Udmurtia, Dagestan, Mordovia, Bashkiria, Kalmykia, Mari and Komi favored emergency measures to stabilise the political situation which "can be based only on the Union treaty reworked with due account to the changing situation". They declared that the Union treaty should be signed by the Russian Federation.

The leaders of the 10 republics consider immediate radical reforms as the decisive condition for overcoming the crisis and stabilising the economy.

The Russian Federation also includes Tatarstan, Tuva, Buryatia, Kabardino-Balkaria and Checheno-Ingushetia.

Coup Participants Controlled 17 Oblasts

AU2608142591 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Au 91 p 2

[Interview with Sergey Belozertsev, deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet, by Moscow correspondent Vladimir Divis in Moscow "early Thursday [22 August] morning"]

[Excerpts] [Divis] Who was the spiritual father of the attempted coup, in your opinion?

[Belozertsev] In all the documents issued by the Yanayev group one can easily find the typical manner of expression of USSR Supreme Soviet Chairman Lukyanov.

[Divis] Who played the main parts in the octet?

[Belozertsev] As I said already, Lukyanov undoubtedly ranked on top, together with Baklanov and Kryutchkov, with the others playing less prominent parts.

[Divis] Most of these people have until recently been considered M. Gorbachev's close collaborators.

[Belozertsev] It has become apparent that Gorbachev had surrounded himself with the worst people. [passage omitted]

[Divis] How large a part of the USSR did the plotters have under their control?

[Belozertsev] Units supporting the octet effectively controlled 17 of the more than 70 oblasts of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. [passage omitted]

Poll: Majority Support Yeltsin, End of CPSU

PM3008083291 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 29 Aug 91 p 3

[By N. Dolgopolov report: "French Seek Best Man"]

[Text] Paris—BVA [Brule Ville Associes] is one of France's largest and most authoritative institutes for market and public opinion research. It is renowned for its impartiality and fairly precise analyses. This is why the results of a BVA poll conducted in Moscow on 26 August are so interesting.

So, do you have a good or bad opinion of Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin? (Answers in percentages).

Yeltsin: Good—74; Bad—7; Don't know—19

Gorbachev: Good—22; Bad—35; Don't know—43

Do you anticipate that Mikhail Gorbachev will be able to cope with the crisis in the USSR over the coming months?

Yes—12; No—62; Don't know—26

Same question for Boris Yeltsin.

Yes—52; No—15; Don't know—33

Who, in your opinion, holds the real power in the country?

Mikhail Gorbachev—2; Boris Yeltsin—51; Both—29; Neither—16; Don't know—2

On Mikhail Gorbachev's position during the coup d'etat, with which of the answers below do you most identify?

He prepared it—2; he was involved—15; he knew about it—44; he was completely ignorant—34; don't know—5

Do you consider another coup possible?

Yes—39; No—38; Don't know—23

Are you for or against the definitive dissolution of the CPSU?

For—76; Against—9; Don't know—15

Poll on Collective Farms, Leaders' Charisma

OW2908073991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0636 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On August 12 the National Public Opinion Studies Center polled 1,155 respondents in 13 cities of the Russian Federation asking them about the reasons of grain shortages in this country.

44% indicated the collapse of collective farming system.

24% said that collective farms are in principle incapable of feeding the country.

16% pointed to the poor harvest because of unfavorable weather conditions.

15% could not answer.

In the same poll, the respondents were asked which of the Soviet political leaders is the most charismatic.

35% named Yeltsin.

13%—Gorbachev.

8%—Sobchak.

5%—Ryzhkov.

2% sympathize with Shevardnadze, Bakatin, Zhirinovsky, Silayev and Nazarbayev.

1 out of 10 do not think any of the political leaders has charismatic looks.

19% could not answer.

Law Must Be Observed in Punishing Putschists

PM2808151191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Aug 91 Second Edition p 2

[Feature comprising three RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY reports and a report by TASS correspondent A. Mazhorov under the general headline: "Avoiding 1937"]

[Text] "We are seeking a rule-of-law state, and therefore everything must be built on the foundation of the law," Ruslan Khasbulatov, acting chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, stated in an interview with RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY's [RIA] parliamentary correspondent. The participants in the anticonstitutional plot must suffer their deserved punishments, he stressed. At the same time, in his opinion arbitrariness and the devastation of party committees and other structures cannot be tolerated, although even now it can be worked out from certain documents and the facts that have so far become known that the threads of the plot lead both to CPSU structures and to the Russian Communist Party.

"No violent illegal actions can be tolerated against people whoever they may be, whether they be a Communist, a democrat, or any other person," Sergey Shakhray, RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] state counselor and member of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, has declared. In a brief conversation with a RIA correspondent he noted that the appropriate instructions have been given to the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the republic prosecutor's office.

Mayor of Leningrad Anatoliy Sobchak has urged that lawlessness in relation to Communists should not be tolerated. "Right now there are denunciations of Communists lying on my desk," he stated in an interview with a RIA correspondent. "It would be strange if we were now to end up in the abyss of 1937. And although the CPSU's death throes have begun in the country, we must not tolerate lawlessness." At the same time Sobchak called for a thorough investigation to be held and for those who supported the putschists to be dealt with according to the law.

Deputy Mayor of Leningrad V. Shcherbakov has made an appeal to commanders of military units and of military organizations and institutions. At the present time, the appeal says, natural concern is being aroused by reports of cases involving the unlawful use of disciplinary and administrative measures against certain Soviet Army servicemen in connection with their behavior during the coup d'etat. The city's deputy mayor drew attention to the intolerability of such unlawful actions. Every case will be thoroughly investigated and evaluated appropriately, he stated.

Monarchists Convene, Urge Confederation Council

LD2808054691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1845 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, Aug 26 (TASS)—A meeting of the Council of Representatives of the Monarchists of Rus [Rus Monarkhicheskaya] convened here today. The political situation in the country was debated by those present and pronounced satisfactory. They also demanded that the USSR Supreme Soviet and Congress of People's Deputies be dissolved, that Procurator General Nikolay Trubin resign, and Anatoliy Lukyanov be arrested. According to them, "President Gorbachev, by going away on holiday, abandoned Soviet society to the mercy of its fate." The monarchists' leader, Brumel, advocated that the state be administered by a council of the confederation consisting of the republican presidents and other figures. The movement's leaders claim that it has a membership of about 6,000.

Backup Government Assembled Near Sverdlovsk

PM2908101891 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Aug 91 p 1

[S. Razin report: "Sverdlovsk, 20 August: Shadow Cabinet in Woods"]

[Text] The tanks did not pass. But what if the situation had developed differently? On day one of the putsch even the Russian president did not rule out that likelihood. At 1730 hours on 19 August, B. Yeltsin signed a decree on the creation of an operational management group. Essentially, a duplicate Russian Government was set up, headed by O. Lobov, vice premier, S. Krasavchenko, member of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium, and A. Yablokov, member of the RSFSR State Council.

Even though the "White House" was cut off from the outside world, the link with the Russian regions was not lost for a minute. The duplicate government directed Russia from a backup control center located in the woods 70 km from Sverdlovsk. It was from there that telefaxes and teletypes were sent to the whole country carrying the Russian president's decrees and it was to there that information came back again: on the position of the leaders of the oblasts and local organs of the KGB, the Interior Ministry, and the Army, on the situation at enterprises, and so forth. Russia heard its president's voice loud and clear.

This flexible link was established thanks to the firm position of the Sverdlovsk Oblast Soviet and the professionals of the "Rossvyazinform" state enterprise, who managed to convert quickly the oblast-level management center into an all-union one. It was from here that continuous Russian radio broadcasting was due to begin on the evening of 21 August.

This installation was guarded by the Sverdlovsk OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] and another detachment that no one saw and that lay in wait in the woods for two days. However, not a single shot was heard in the woods. Although General Makashov, the commander of the military district, did not wholeheartedly support the State Committee for the State of Emergency, he was clearly playing for time. The general could not fail to know what the "so-called democrats" were doing under his very nose but he pretended that he had not noticed anything suspicious in the woods. Clearly, even Makashov realized that the junta was doomed.

Yeltsin Envoys in Oblasts, Kray Profiled

PM2908135991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Aug 91 Union Edition p 2

[Reports by Mikhail Ovcharov, Aleksandr Dergachev, and Anatoliy Yershov from Yaroslavl, Krasnodar, and Vladimir, respectively, under general headline: "First Few Days for Russian President's Representatives in Localities"]

[Text] Yaroslavl—Vladimir Varukhin, representative of the Russian president, has begun to perform his duties.

He is a deputy both of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet and the oblast soviet. He is 53 years old and a non-party member. He is married with two grown daughters. Until recently he was head of a department at the Rybinsk Aviation Technology Institute.

His first working day in his new post was intensive: He took part in the work of the oblast soviet of people's deputies presidium, which adopted several important decisions. Primarily on suspending the activity of the RSFSR Communist Party on the oblast's territory. The oblispolkom [oblast soviet executive committee] internal affairs administration and the oblast prosecutor's office were instructed to investigate cases of anticonstitutional activity on the part of Communist Party obkom [oblast party committee] organs; the oblast soviet is taking control of and guarding all buildings and structures, hospitals, printing works, garages, and other property.

On the same day the president's representative met with journalists and spoke on local radio and television. Speaking about his powers, he said: "We must immediately supervise in the localities the rigorous and precise implementation of our president's decrees and, in the event of any breaches or an untimely response on the part of local structures of authority to these decrees, we will submit our ideas on the adoption of urgent, immediate measures or inform the president. Naturally, if officials do not obey, they must be relieved of their posts."

However, Vladimir Varukhin stressed, the president's representatives, who are rightfully described as their "master's eyes," have nothing in common with the memorable institution of the commissars with their Mausers and leather jackets, who inspired fear among the people.

Krasnodar—V. Dyakonov, head of the Kuban administration, has begun his duties in Krasnodar Kray.

So, the Kuban has presidential rule. What brought this about? First, former leaders N. Kondratenko and N. Gorovoy were relieved of their posts for backing the putschists' anticonstitutional activity. Second, there is the RSFSR presidential decree "On Certain Questions of the Activity of Executive Organs in the RSFSR" whereby executive and administrative functions of state management in the republic's krays, oblasts, autonomous oblasts, and okrugs are henceforth to be exercised by the administration heads appointed by the RSFSR president and accountable to him alone. The chief is picking a "team" as he sees fit, and he has extensive powers—for instance, he can "veto" the decisions of local soviets (admittedly, the "veto" can be voted down if a majority of deputies disagrees with it). Third, the need for this form of rule in the Kuban is dictated by the fact that for quite some time now some of the kray's leadership has had a negative attitude toward many of the RSFSR Government's undertakings. Confrontation developed between the Kuban and the republic center and both sides lost out.

People in the Kuban by and large know the head of the kray's new administration—RSFSR People's Deputy V. Dyakonov. He was born and grew up here and has recently worked as leader of a powerful concern set up on the basis of the "Kubansantekhmontazh" Trust.

Vladimir—Nikolay Sergeyevich Yegorov has been appointed to the new post of RSFSR presidential representative in Vladimir Oblast.

He is a local boy and previously worked as first secretary of Kirzhachskiy Party Raykom [rayon party committee]; he now heads the Kirzhachskiy Rayon Soviet and is an RSFSR people's deputy.

N. Yegorov says:

"The interim provision on RSFSR presidential representatives stipulates my duties and powers. I can briefly define them as follows: ensuring the real implementation of presidential authority in the localities and supervising and coordinating the work of local soviets' executive organs.

"I have just returned from Vladimir Oblispolkom, where I presented my credentials, as it were."

Yeltsin Representative Begins Work in Novosibirsk

PM2908140691 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Aug 91 Union Edition p 3

[By A. Illarionov under the general heading: "Events Day by Day": "President's Representative Starts Work"]

[Text] RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] People's Deputy A.N. Manokhin, a 43-year-old mathematician well known for his democratic convictions and balanced political positions, has embarked on his duties in Novosibirsk as RSFSR presidential representative for Novosibirsk Oblast.

In an interview on local TV Anatoliy Manokhin stated that the situation as regards the presidential representative's rights and duties has not yet been clarified, but it is already clear that his role does not concern the executive, that he is "neither a prosecutor, a governor general, nor a Pontius Pilate," and that his tasks do not include removing anyone from their jobs, allocating money, or getting hold of pipes. He sees the main thrust of his activity as being to monitor the execution of the president's decrees and Russian laws, to constructively cooperate with local organs or power, to analyze the state of affairs, and to maintain constant contact with the RSFSR president in order to keep him abreast of the local situation.

First and foremost, the president's representative had to deal with the rather "unpleasant"—as he put it—act of ensuring that law-enforcement organs fulfill the decrees to suspend the Russian Communist Party's activity and to provide for the safekeeping of all its documents and material assets until judicial organs rule on their ownership. His mission is also to bring to account those officials who supported the putschists and ensure that law-enforcement organs have them removed from their positions. This applies, in particular, to G. Averyanov, former editor of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA SIBIR, who, while publishing the State Committee for the State of Emergency decrees, refused to publish the decrees of the legitimate Russian president. The prosecutor's office will decide whether to institute criminal proceedings in this case.

Ethnic Germans Mark Anniversary of Deportation

OW2908171091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1415 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The movement "Democratic Russia", the society "Rebirth" and representatives of the Lutheran Church initiated in 4 Russian cities authorized meetings to mark 50 years since Stalin's decree on deporting ethnic Germans from Russia's European part.

The meeting held in Tomsk gathered 300 people, in Saratov 250, in Engels (Saratov region) 200, and in Kemerovo 100 people.

Procuracy Detains Former Moscow Party Chief

LD3008020591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0100 GMT 30 Agu 91

[Text] On the run for several days, Yuriy Prokofyev, former head of Moscow Communists, is continuing to give evidence to the Moscow City Procuracy. He voluntarily appeared there after a warning by the Russian Procuracy that by hiding from investigation he was exacerbating his position. The RSFSR [Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic] procuracy has stated that the preventative measures against Yuriy Prokofyev have not yet been selected and he is considered detained.

Moscow Mayor Discusses Coup, Current Situation

LD2908201391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1845 GMT 25 Aug 91

[Conversation with Moscow Mayor G.Kh. Popov, conducted by correspondent A. Gerasimov in Moscow; date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Gerasimov] What factors determined the downfall of the junta?

[Popov] That is a very serious question because it is something we must study and think about. I think there were factors that operated both inside and outside the junta. If one were to speak of the internal factors, then this is a traditional disease of our conservative forces. During the whole time our conservatives were unable to find a suitable leader. At the beginning this was Yegor Kuzmich [Ligachev], then it was Polozkov. Of course, these leaders could not become popular. The second factor was in fact the same—there was no leader. I think that this led to a point where they had to hold continous debates among themselves to decide on issues. In any case, as the night to storm the White House approached, we were trying to find out, through channels available to us, what they had decided. All the time the same report came from our courageous comrades who gave us this information: They are still arguing; no one can take upon himself the responsibility for storming the White House; they are continually arguing among themselves and and cannot get to the point. [passage omitted]

In any case, I think that the main factors were external ones. In six years, of course, the country has not improved its position and has had great difficulties. Yet, the coup leaders did not take into consideration that these were now different people. You see, when I saw who came out to fight this time, well, the majority of people at all our meetings and demonstrations were people of my age, middle-aged or thereabouts; and these people were not able to fight against weapons and tanks. When it came to this, it was the young people who came out to fight. Incidentally, there is this list of those remarkable young people who were wounded—19 and 21 years old. What is the significance of these figures? It means that six years ago they were 14 and 15 years old. They entered their life already in the new conditions; this was already the new generation, this was one of the decisive factors. I would say this: In these six years, as has been clearly seen, we have been able to form in this country a new, young generation ready to defend the new system. This is an exceptionally important idea. [passage omitted]

[Gerasimov] You are the mayor of Moscow. No doubt you know the most about the way in which events developed during those days. What was it like?

[Popov] [passage omitted] From the very start, from the very first hour, the whole of Moscow's leadership adopted a unanimous and unambiguous position. In the morning, when Prokofyev, first secretary of the Moscow City Party Committee demanded that Yuriy Mikhailovich Luzhkov come to see him at the City Party Committee, Luzhkov replied that he was about to go and see Boris Nikolayevich [Yeltsin]. So the conversation ended as it had begun.

From the very beginning, we adopted the position that we would follow the orders of Russia, of its headquarters, and of its president. We categorically refused to acknowledge the emergency committee. We categorically refused to accept the emergency situation here in Moscow or to comply with the curfew which had been proposed here. But the main thing is that all city services worked efficiently. You see, there was a very important point here: All the time, the conspirators kept saying that there was chaos. During those days we had to show the public that bread and milk were for sale, that public transport was functioning, and that water and electricity supplies were maintained as usual. In other words, we wanted to show that there was no reason for any hysteria or confusion among the people. All the city services worked exceptionally well. [passage omitted]

[Gerasimov] Well, I think, perhaps naturally, one of the people's reaction to the events has been the tearing sown of monuments. Already three monuments have been toppled. What do you think of this?

[Popov] What can I say? (?There are two types of monuments.) There are monuments to which this word monuments is applicable in architectural and other aspects, and there are simply some kind of ugly sketches. It seems to me that there is no question at all about the ugly ones: They simply have to be removed. But if there are architectural monuments, then even if they have been put up in honor of persons whom history and the people of Russia have condemned, then personally I would be inclined to think that such monuments should remain. Why? Because I consider that the history of the people should remain in its memory, it should see it. If we remove everything, then there if the temptation to think the problem is over. Out of sight, out of mind, as they say—a proverb. Certain people would very much like to take the problem out of sight and consider it resolved. But we have our history.

[Gerasimov] A USSR Supreme Soviet session starts tomorrow. In your view, what specific decisions should Supreme Soviet deputies adopt to ensure that this situation is never repeated?

[Popov] I think the Supreme Soviet deputies need to analyze the extent of their own guilt for what happened. Of course, the president is to blame for his inability to choose the right cadres. But a democratic society is organized as such precisely so that the president's personal mistakes can be corrected. This Supreme Soviet had become an agency for rubber-stamping whatever decisions had been prepared by its chairman, Lukyanov. Whatever happened, the vote always followed the line. Therefore, I would like very much to see the Supreme Soviet find in itself the strength to analyze why it gave rise to this system and this government and why it created such things. If it does not do this, it will forfeit any right to be regarded as an organ of government. Second, it seems to me that the Supreme Soviet must immediately—literally, at once—decide to convene an emergency congress. Why? Because the issues that have to be decided require the competence of the congress: First, the government must be forced to resign; second, a new vice president must be elected; third, changes must be adopted in connection with the Union treaty, and so on. In short, we need an emergency congress. [passage omitted]

I very much fear that the euphoria concerning this breath of fresh air will become excessive. Strictly speaking and looking at things soberly, we have not resolved a single problem. We have repulsed an offensive from the reactionaries—that is true. But we continue to live in a country where there are millions of hectares of land and each of us is unable to have a piece of land to build a dacha, to have an allotment, house, farm, and so on. We live in a country where the shops remain as empty as before, where natural resources are being wasted. Everything needs to be done. Therefore, I would say that what has happened in our country now is only the beginning, a starting point. Now we need to begin to act. For six years we were impeded. Now, we have removed those impediments to a considerable extent. Nobody but the people themselves can build the life of the people. All the other bodies of power—the president, mayor, parliament—can only help the people. Now the time has come for work. If we can turn all the energy used in the battle against the putsch and the plotters into normal work, then this will be the most important result. I believe we must build up, rebuild Russia. We must catch up with the other peoples and begin a normal lifestyle. We must remove all that is impeding people and give everyone, at last, the opportunity to be creative. We have a talented people, and our land is exceptionally rich. It has all the resources. Remove the impediments, and we will start living properly.

Moscow City Council Member Kagarlitskiy on Coup

LD2408145991 Helsinki Suomen Yleisradio Network in Finnish 1500 GMT 22 Aug 91

[Text] According to Boris Kagarlitskiy, member of the Moscow City Council, the group, which attempted to carry out the coup in the Soviet Union, failed because Boris Yeltsin did not join them, contrary to expectations. The Russian intellectual Kagarlitskiy, fairly well known in the West, claims that just the expectation that Yeltsin would turn agaisnt Gorbachev explains the apparent poor preparation of the coup. Hannu Reime has met Kagarlitskiy:

[Reime] Boris Kagarlitskiy is a representative of thesmall number of left-wingers in the Soviet Union. He sits on the Moscow city council as representative of the small Socialist Party, and he has close connections with the Western anti-Stalinist left. Kagarlitskiy is on a brief stopover in Helsinki on his way home fro Sweden where his latest book has just been published.

Kagarlitskiy, who sat in prison during the Brezhnev era, has remained a dissident also in the changed conditions in the Soviet Union. He has invented the concept market-Stalinism to describe the strivings of the Soviet reformists. By this expression he means the combination of capitalism and political dictatorship, which, according to him, is the only way to direct Soviet society toward a market economy. Kagarlitskiy and his kindred souls naturally oppose such a development, just as he has always opposed the pure old-style Stalinism, too. As a reminder of the fact that market-Stalinism is not a mere delusion, Kagarlitskiy notes that one of the best-known Soviet reformists, Yeltsin's close ally, Gavriil Popov, has proposed as a solution for the country's crisis what he himself calls democratic dictatorship.

Boris Kagarlitskiy gives a different interpretation of this week's attempted coup than has been generally given so far. Kagarlitskiy notes that the view, acccording to which the junta that tried to overthrow Gorbachev would in its entirety represent the so-called hardline communists, cannot hold up, because most of those who supported it were close and trusted associates of Gorbachev. Gorbachev, for instance, chose—from almost nowhere—Valentin Pavlov, an advocate of market reforms, as his prime minister to replace Ryzhkov, who was regarded as too orthodox a communist. In addition, at no stage of the coup was there a demand for Gorbachev's resignation from the post of general secretary of the CPSU. According to Kagarlitskiy's view, the plotters calculated that they would get Yeltsin as their ally against Gorbachev, in order to get rid of an unpopular president and to blame him for the failure of the economic policy, the price rises, and other unpleasant matters. Kagarlitskiy regards the following conclusion as absolutely obvious:

[Kagarlitskiy, in English] It means that either the coup was extremely poorly organized, or there was some reason for the plotters not to treat Yeltsin as their enemy.

[Reime] The coup was either poorly organized or the plotters had reasons to presume that Yeltsin was not their enemy. But they were professional politicians and professionals of a policy of repression, for the KGB was in the game, and it had experience from many countries on how to take over power. Yeltsin and the circle closest to him could very well have been arrested right at the beginning of the coup, the streets to Moscow could have been closed, as, by the way, Gorbachev himself did last spring when he prevented a demonstration by Yeltsin's supporters in Moscow. But nothing like that was done. Most of the troops arriving in Moscow did not even have ammunition; they were parade troops. And those troops that went to Yeltsin's side did it only six hours after the start of the coup, so that even this does not explain the turn of events. But the collapse of the coup is explained by the fact that Yeltsin disappointed the expectations that the plotters had regarding him, thinks the Soviet intellectual and Moscow city council member, Boris Kagarlitskiy.

[Announcer] That was Hannu Reime. Kagarlitskiy believes that Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania will leave the Soviet Union.

Gidaspov Investigated on Treason Charges

OW2908165791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday the investigation department of Leningrad's Prosecutor's Office launched legal proceedings in accordance with Article 6 [of the] Russian Federation's criminal code on charges of treason. The official motive for the proceedings is "to study data connected with the unconstitutional activity of Leningrad's CPSU organization". In the framework of these proceedings investigators questioned the former leader of the regional CPSU committee Boris Gidaspov and searched last night the flats of several highranking committee members.

Leningrad Military Chief Refuses Queries

LD3008014991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] The RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY reports that Lieutenant General Viktor Samsonov, commander of the Leningrad Military District, has refused to meet members of a Leningard soviet deputies' commission and present any kind of clarification on his role in the events of 19-21 August. You will remember that on the first day of the putsch he appeared on Leningad TV and announced a state of emergency in the city.

In the meantime, it has become known that the complex of buildings of the Smolnyy belonging to the Leningrad oblast committee of the CPSU will be handed over to the mayor's office, which will move to the headquarters of the revolution immediately after a special commission of the Leningrad soviet finishes work on acquiring the property.

Leningrad State of Emergency Committee Named

PM2908084191 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 20 Aug 91 Second Edition p 2

[A. Molokov report under general headline: "Reports From Our Correspondents"]

[Text] Leningrad—Leningraders were discussing the event that had taken place in the country quite animatedly in the morning on the way to work. However, there were no particular signs of the state of emergency in the city. The only causes for surprise were the fact that not a single cooperative kiosk was working on the usually noisy First Soviet Street and that long lines sprang up at the Savings Bank starting in the morning. Also striking was the caution with which, even in conversation with one another, people evaluated what had happened.

On the whole, the situation in the city during the day remained calm. At 1000 Colonel General V. Samsonov, commander of Leningrad Military District, who has been appointed military commandant for the city, spoke on

Leningrad Television and announced the introduction of a state of emergency at 0400 in Leningrad and adjacent regions, and the formation, for the purpose of governing the life and activity of the city, of a State of Emergency Commission consisting of V. Samsonov; V. Shcherbakov, the vice mayor; V. Khramtsov, chairman of the Committee for the Prevention of Emergency Situations and the Defense of the Population; Yu. Yarov, chairman of the oblast soviet; B. Gidaspov, first secretary of the CPSU obkom [oblast committee]; A. Viktorov, chief of the North West Border District Troops; A. Kurkov, chairman of the KGB Directorate for Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast; and D. Savin, chief of the Internal Troops Directorate for the Northwest and the Baltic Region. Samsonov also informed citizens of the adoption of a number of special measures aimed at strengthening the maintenance of public order and the protection of facilities safeguarding the vital activity of the population. In particular he announced a ban on trade in alcoholic drinks and restrictions on the use of duplicating equipment, television- and radio-broadcasting, and amplifying equipment; the establishment of control over the mass media; and the introduction of special procedures for the appointment and removal of leaders of enterprises, institutions, and organizations...

Factories, plants, associations, and construction and transport organizations in the city and the oblast were working with no disruptions to their production rhythm. Not a single instance of a halt in production was recorded.

In emergency session the Leningrad City Soviet Presidium condemned the introduction of the state of emergency. At the same time a clash took place during the debate between the "radicals" and the "moderates" which ended in a brawl pure and simple, and in which Deputy V. Skoybed, well-known for his extreme "democratism," once more excelled. Starting at the radical democrats began urgently summoning people to Isaac's Square for a rally. About 300 people assembled outside Mariinskiy Palace. Leningrad City Soviet Chairman A. Belyayev asked them not to disperse "until the complete victory of democracy over the rebels." Every four minutes appeals resounded from a minibus fitted with radio equipment standing near the Leningrad City Soviet building, calling on people not to submit to the State Committee for the State of Emergency and to lie under the tanks. Despite the ban on street processions, rallies, and demonstrations, no one lifted a finger against those assembled.

European Bank Discusses Plan for Leningrad

OW2608083391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1245 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The president of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development [EBRD] Jacques Attali who arrived in the Soviet Union for talks with Soviet and Russian officials met with the Mayor of Leningrad Anatoly Sobchak on Friday to discuss EBRD's plan for investment in the newly-emerging free economic zone there.

Kaliningrad Paper Cuts Links, Goes Independent

LD2808125791 Kaliningrad Maritime Press Service in Russian 1500 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] KALININGRADSKAYA PRAVDA carries a decision of its collective regarding the fact that the leadership of the CPSU bears moral responsibility for the attempted coup d'etat and that its co-sponsor, the oblast committee of the CPSU, did not find in itself the strength from the first day to condemn the self-styled committee nor try to make use of the newspaper for this. In fulfilling the decree of the president of Russia on suspending the activity of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Communist Party, the paper will halt the cosponsorship of the oblast committee of the CPSU in the newspaper.

To concur with the proposal of the work collective of the publishing house and printing press of KALININGRADSKAYA PRAVDA, the firm Vasgeo, together with the work collective of the newspaper's editorial staff, will become the sponsors of KALININGRADSKAYA PRAVDA. It will become a daily independent newspaper not linked with any individual political parties or public organizations.

Buryatia Communist Party Paper Changes Status

LD2508094691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0648 GMT 24 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Trofimov]

[Text] Ulan-Ude, 24 Aug (TASS)—Today's edition of the newspaper PRAVDA BURYATII has not been published in its guise as the press organ of the Committee of the Communist Party of Buryatia (a Soviet republic within Russia in eastern Siberia), but rather as a general political publication. A meeting of the creative collective which took place yesterday resolved to change the status of the republican newspaper. This is how the journalists have reacted to the revolt of the plotters.

At the same time, the editorial collective has rejected its second co-founder, the republican committee of the Communist Party.

Along with this, representatives of the "Democratic Buryatia" movement are demanding the closure of PRAVDA BURYATII. On the main square of the republic's capital, Ulan-Ude, a round-the-clock protest continues. The demands of those protestng there are the resignation of the government of Buryatia, the banning of activities of the Communist Party, and the nationalization of party property.

Omsk Newspapers Suspend Publication

PM3008104591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Aug 91 Union Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "Well, in Omsk There Are No Newspapers at All"]

[Text] Not a single daily newspaper is being published in Omsk. At the order of Leonid Polezhayev, chairman of the oblast soviet executive committee, all buildings belonging to the Russian Communist Party and the CPSU have been put under guard. They housed the editorial offices of the newspapers OMSKAYA PRAVDA, which belonged to the oblast party organization, and VECHERNIY OMSK, whose founder was the city party committee.

The staffers of the publications are so far without work. But not for long, I think. Until they take the fate of the newspapers into their own hands.

Checheno-Ingush Citizens Demand Resignations

LD2708175291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1510 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] Groznyy, 27 Aug (TASS)—Confrontation between the people and the authorities continues in the republic of Checheno-Ingush in the north Caucasus. Meetings and rallies attended by thousands of people in Groznyy spilled over into other republican towns and villages today. The demonstrators are demanding the immediate resignation of all the leaders of the republic who supported the failed coup attempt with their actions or inactivity.

By today, the buildings housing the parliament and the government and a range of other administrative buildings in Groznyy were blocked. The local television and radio and telephone exchanges have come under the demonstrators' control. Law and order bodies are continuing to exercise neutrality. The people are not keeping order. There is no destruction except for the dismantling of several monuments to Lenin and broken signs on several buildings.

Late last night, an urgent session of the Checheno-Ingush Supreme Soviet Presidium decided to continue the work of the session and examine the issue of confidence in the parliament chairman.

Prison Disturbances in Chechen-Inghush Noted

LD2908230791 Moscow TASS in English 1748 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Groznny August 29 TASS—A maximum security prison in Naurskaya village in Chechen-Ingush Republic, northern Caucasus, has been the place of mass disturbances for two days.

About 400 prisoners, demanding their sentences be revised, on Thursday disobeyed the administration, pulled down and burnt watch towers, barracks and premises.

The administration succeeded in quelling the majority of prisoners, while about 50 inmates armed with knives and sharpened bars and rods continue holding out.

The leadership of the republic's police and the Interior Ministry troops has so far refrained from using force, hoping to settle the conflict by peaceful means.

A session of the republic's parliament has set up a special commission to investigate the causes of the conflict.

Tatar Deputies Begin Supreme Soviet Session

LD2908232291 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1200 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Tatar Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet deputies opened their session today to discuss ways of avoiding the political and economic crisis. In his speech, Republican President Shaymiyev described the present moment as acute. Large meetings are being held at Kazan squares with two views being expressed. Those under the leadership of the Tatar Public Center for the Committee on Sovereignty support the leadership of the republic call upon them to fight for self-determination and the chance to sign the Union treaty independently, while those under the flag of the democratic forces are collecting signatures to demand that Tatar's entire Communist leadership resign. Both sides called a meeting this evening.

Session Discusses 'Crisis'

LD2908130791 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0900 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Ways of getting out of the political and economic crisis are being discussed by deputies of the Tatar Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet at its session which opened today. The current events are described in the report by republican President Shaymiyev as very intense. Large meetings are being held on the squares of Kazan, where two views are being expressed. Some, under the leadership of the Sovereignty Committee, support the republican leadership and are calling for a struggle for self-determination and for the opportunity to sign the Union Treaty independently. Others, under banners of the democratic forces, are gathering signatures to back a demand for the complete resignation of the Tatar communist leadership. This evening, both sides are gathering at a meeting. They are preparing attacks against each other. Will clashes occur? Decisions of the session should provide an answer.

'Full Independence' Suggested

OW2908162791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1415 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Thursday Tatarstan's parliament convened for an emergency session to discuss the current situation in the republic.

The leader of the "Ittifak" party Fauzia Bairamova suggested the issue of proclaiming full independence for Tatarstan should be added to the agenda. However her proposal was turned down overwhelmingly.

Reports on the activity of the republic's leadership during the coup were delivered by President Mintimer Shaymiyev, the head of parliament Muhammetshin and Prime Minister Sabirov. During the coup, they said, Tatarstan lived in accordance with the USSR Constitution, and so the charges that there was complicity with the SEC [State of Emergency Committee] are unfounded.

Nevertheless several MPs [members of parliament] strongly criticized Shaymiyev for his unprincipled stand toward the coup. The republican Union of Afghan War Veterans demanded that Tatarstan's president resign.

The session of Tatarstan's parliament announced that August 30, the day of proclaiming the republic's independence, will be a holiday.

On Thursday a delegation of the Russian Federation led by Sergey Shakhrai arrived in Kazan. A meeting sponsored by the Democratic Party of Russia is expected to take place tonight.

Rejects Investigation of Leaders

LD2908220691 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] At a session of the Tatar Supreme Soviet, which opened in Kazan today, deputies rejected by a majority of votes a proposal to form a special comission to look into the actions of the republic's leadership during the period of the coup.

Meanwhile, the collection of signatures under an appeal demanding the resignation of Shaymiyev, president of Tatarstan, continues in Freedom Square, Kazan's central square. He is accused of supporting the actions of the SCSE [State Committee on the State of Emergency] during the putsch. According to the organizers of this action, more than 30,000 signatures have already been gathered.

Tatar Ban on ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA Lifted

PM2908144191 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 Aug 91 p 4

[Item prepared from TASS reports: "There Is No Republic Party Committee. There Is Also No Ban on Democratic Press."]

[Text] Following a haitus of two months, the Tatar newspaper and periodical publishing house has begun to publish ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA again. The ban on democratic newspapers, as on "anticommunist" ones, was introduced by the Tatar CPSU Republic Party Committee, to whom the publishing house belonged. Now, by a special resolution of the Tatar Council of Ministers, it has been transferred to the republic's Ministry of Information and the Press. At a general meeting, the publishing house collective decided on the departyization of press output, and leased the publishing house. According to the same document, over 50 obkom [oblast party committee], gorkom [city party committee], and raykom [rayon party committee] buildings have been transferred to the budget of the government and city and rayon soviet ispolkoms [executive committees).

Tyumen Leaders Rally Behind Yeltsin Decree

PM2808104391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Aug 91 Union Edition p 4

[Yu. Perepletkin report under the general heading: "Coup Failure Changes Political Situation Locally. IZVESTIYA Correspondent's Report": "Tyumen"]

[Text] The need for all enterprises and organizations to work in a stable manner and to have definitive support for the population's activity was stated in the oblast soviet presidium's 19 August decision. Yes, the very same decision that instructed all local organs to implement the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] president's decree outlawing the State Committee for the State of Emergency.

People here did not wait for "clarification of the circumstances" before taking a "principled" position. They made their choice immediately. The oblast soviet was in complete charge of the situation: All oil and gas extraction associations and the overwhelming majority of cities and rayons unambiguously advocated democracy. Having familiarized themselves with the text, local leaders of the KGB, MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], the Military Commissariat, and the Prosecutor's office signed the Russian president's Decree No. 61.

That same evening, 19 August, Yu. Shafranik, chairman of the oblast soviet, spoke to Tyumen people on TV. Addressing the northerners, he reported the presidium decision (which was adopted unanimously, incidentally) and also expressed his sincere personal disappointment about the putsch.

Putsch Exacerbates Tyumen Energy Problems

LD2808131891 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0900 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] The attempted coup d'etat has had particular consequences for the residents of Tyumen. The adoption of documents to confer a special status upon the oblast has been postponed. Consequently, this has delayed the tackling of a vital problem—how to solve the energy crisis. The Executive Committee of the oblast Soviet of People's Deputies has ordered that the activities of bodies and organizations of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Socialist Federated Republic] Communist Party within the oblast be suspended.

Tyumen Oblast Trade Union Opposes Strike Call

914A1102F Moscow TRUD in Russian 21 Aug 91 p 2

["A Negative Attitude: Statement of the Tyumen Oblast Trade Union Council"—TRUD headline]

[Text] 1. Having discussed the situation in conjunction with the removal of the president of the USSR from his post, the introduction of a state of emergency, and the creation of the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency], the presidium of the oblast trade union council considers it necessary to announce its negative attitude toward these events.

2. While acknowledging the need for fundamental changes in the administration of the state and for averting the collapse of the USSR, the presidium condemns anticonstitutional, forcible actions, no matter who is behind them, and calls upon the organs of power at all levels and people's deputies to act in strict accordance with the constitutions and laws of the USSR and the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic].

In the existing situation it is necessary to immediately convene a USSR Congress of People's Deputies.

3. The presidium of the oblast trade union council does not support the call of the Russian leadership for a general indefinite political strike.

4. We call upon labor collectives and trade union committees not to become involved in political games, to maintain peace and restraint until a full explanation of the situation, to restrain from actions which may lead to destabilization and mass disorders, and to intensify organization and discipline in production.

[Signed] M. Ageyev, deputy chairman of the oblast trade union council, on behalf of the presidium

Yakut Coal Exports To Finance Consumer Goods

PM2908114091 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Aug 91 Second Edition p 6

[By PRAVDA correspondent V. Yermolayev: "Videos Later"]

[Text] The USSR Cabinet of Ministers has adopted the "Yakutugol" Association's proposal coordinated with the Russian Council of Ministers that it be given the right to sell abroad some of the fuel extracted by the people of the North.

As of 1992 up to 10% of the coal extracted by miners at the "Dzhebariki-Khaya" and "Sangarskaya" Mines and the "Zyryanskiy" and "Kangalasskiy" pits will be exported. It has been decided to use the hard currency revenue to organize consumer goods production and also to procure food, medical supplies, medical equipment, and industrial consumer goods abroad. It is important to note that it has been decided to exclude from the list of these goods nonessential video recorders and automobiles, which many of our enterprises and departments trading on the world market are excessively eager to acquire.

Yakutskaya Shuts Down Diamond-Extracting Plant

OW2808185891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1700 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Yakut Council of Ministers decided to shut down January 1, 1992 one of the four "Yakutalmaz" amalgamation's plants because of the damage to environment it causes with its vaste. The government ordered the "Yakutalmaz" administration to settle socio-economic problems linked with the closure, including compensation payments to residents of the polluted area. IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent says the four "Yakutalmaz" plants provide 99% of all diamonds extracted in the USSR.

Yakutia Parliament To Convene 31 Aug

OW2908171591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The presidium of the Yakut-Sakha republic's parliament decided to convene MPs [members of parliament] for a session on August 31. Nothing has been said about the agenda so far, but local reporters believe that it is likely to include disputes on the behavior of local government bodies during the abortive coup and partial changes in the composition of the local council of ministers prompted by the dismissal of several ministers compromised by cooperation with the conspirators.

DPCR Delegate Expelled From Ulyanovsk Party

PM2908130791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Aug 91 First Edition p 2

[TASS report under general headline: "News in This Issue": "Party Committee Secretary Expelled From CPSU"]

[Text] Ulyanovsk—A. Smirnov, leader of the Ulyanovsk Motor Vehicle Plant's Communists, had to answer to them when he arrived from Moscow and the founding congress of the Democratic Party of Communists of Russia [DPCR], where he was elected to the leadership organs of the new party. Following a secret vote, he has been relieved of the post of secretary of the plant's party committee and expelled from the ranks of the CPSU. The motive was "for actions inconsistent with CPSU Statutes and intended to split party ranks."

Chelyabinsk Oblast Adheres to Federation Laws

914A1102E Moscow TRUD in Russian 21 Aug 91 p 2

[A. Lyapustin article: "Chelyabinsk"]

[Text] "The introduction in a number of rayons of the Soviet Union of a state of emergency and the creation of the State Committee for the State of Emergency should not give rise to a feeling of confusion in the population, still less one of panic. Our oblast belongs to the Russian Federation, and the leadership of the Southern Urals will act in accordance with Russian laws that have been adopted."

These are sentences from a statement of the president of the Chelyabinsk Oblast soviet and the oblast soviet executive committee broadcast over oblast television and radio. Similar to this is the ruling of the presidium of the Chelyabinsk city soviet (jointly with all the rayons), which V. Solovyev, chairman of the city soviet, announced on television on Monday, and later he announced this ruling at a rally on the main square of the city. The rally's participants greeted with approbation the statement that the local garrison and the militia would be functioning in accordance with Russian laws. Support was expressed for the statements of Yeltsin, Silayev, and Khasbulatov. The city soviet considers possible a strike by those who are not affected by the daily interests of the residents of Chelyabinsk. Both soviets call upon people to preserve calm and avoid any acts of force. In the city it really is calm and everyone is working.

A portion of the collective of the Polet Association is an exception—the day before yesterday, in other words 19 August, its workers left their jobs and attended a rally in a column. Yesterday they were still discussing whether there would be a strike or not.

Cherkess-Abaza Nation To Seek Republic Status

PM2808143791 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Aug 91 p 2

[Untitled report from own information and RIA-DR-PRESS roundup under the "Brief Line" rubric]

[Text] Documents confirming the desire of the Cherkess-Abaza people for reunification within the framework of a unified republic as part of the USSR were adopted at a coordinating conference in Cherkessk yesterday.

Kabardino-Balkaria Government 'Should Resign'

OW2908155091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1415 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Last night the republic's MPs [members of parliament] convened for a session in Nalchik and decided that their parliament and government should resign.

Comparison of Moscow Commandant's Order No 2

PM2108113291

Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian at 0900 GMT on 21 August carries the text of Order No. 2 issued by the commandant of Moscow on 20 August. The radio version has been compared with the Moscow Central Television First Program Network Russian version published in the 21 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT on page 65, and found to identical, with the following addition:

Page 66, first column, end of first partial paragraph, last sentence reads: ...This order goes into force from the moment of publication.

For the period the state of emergency is in force, strikes, meetings, rallies, street parades, and demonstrations are prohibited. Spectator events, sports, and other mass events will be held with the permission of the district commandants. The main internal affairs administration of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee, in cooperation with the troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and the military units of the garrison, are instructed to organize the reception of firearms and other weapons, munitions, explosive substances and materials, and powerful chemicals, poisons, and narcotics. On receiving information that citizens possess weapons, munitions, explosives, powerful chemicals, poisons or narcotics, or printed or handwritten materials calling for the breach of public order, it is instructed that a personal examination and a search of belongings and of means of transportation shall be carried out. Offenders are to be brought to account. The entry of transportation from other towns into the city will be restricted.

As has already been reported, from 20 August a curfew has been introduced within the Moscow city limits from 2300 to 0500.

[Signed] Colonel General Kalinin... (supplying additional paragraphs)

Belorussia

Kebich Views Coup as Potential 'Catastrophe'

LD3008000591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1637 GMT 29 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Gorelik]

[Text] Minsk, 29 August. (TASS)— Yanayev's putsch could have turned out to be a catastrophe more terrifying than Chernobyl for Belorussia if the junta had stayed in power not three days but, say, three years. This is the opinion of Vyacheslav Kebich, chairman of the Belorussian Council of Ministers. The concept itself of "Belorussia," he said to a TASS correspondent, would have changed its current meaning to a large extent. A purely geographical figure would have remained because the first of the decrees of the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] already took away those small achievements that the republic had. Command methods of administration were being put on the throne again, centralized distribution was coming back and rigid state orders were being established. In these conditions no market could be under discussion. This was a blow not only to market relations but in the first place this was also a blow to the sovereignty of the republic, Vyacheslav Kebich pointed out.

Commenting on the reports that flashed in the foreign media that the Soviet republics can get the rights of the associate members of the International Monetary Fund, Vyacheslav Kebich stressed: "I do not think that we will be given credits of escape immediately, but membership in this authoritative organization will open access to necessary information and will facilitate establishing contacts with foreign partners."

Council of Ministers on Leaving Communist Party

LD2908132391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2200 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Report from Minsk by reporter Leonid Sviridov]

[Text] Leonid Dashuk, Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] minister of justice, has issued a decree nullifying the facts of the registration of the Communist Party of Belorussia. This document says that on 3 June 1991 the Belorussian SSR Ministry of Justice adopted a decision on the registration of the Communist Party of Belorussia and that registration certificate No. 100 was issued to the leadership of the Communist Party. In connection with the fact that the leadership of the republican Communist Party took an incorrect position with regard to the State Committee for the State of Emergency, which seized power in the country in an unconstitutional way, the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet has temporarily suspended the activity of the Communist Party through its degree issued on 25 August. Because the facts of the Belorussian Communist Party registration contradict the aforementioned decree of the Belorussian parliament, the order goes on to say, the decision is to abolish the registration of the Communist Party of Belorussia and to annul the issued registration certificate.

The leadership of the republican Council of Ministers has issued a statement that says that because it denounces the attempt at a coup d'etat, negatively evaluates the work of the CPSU leadership, and dissociates itself from the appeal of the bureau of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, it considers its further stay in the leading bodies of the Belorussian Communist Party impossible and is suspending its membership in the CPSU. We proceed from the need for control of the Belorussian SSR executive power, independent of anybody's influence and based solely on strict adherance to the Constitution and laws of the republic.

I would like to point out that the statement is signed by all members of the Presidium of the Belorussian Council of Ministers headed by Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich. I hope that this position of the Belorussian prime minister is a candid and principled one.

Establishment of National Guard in Planning Stage

LD2908182791 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1200 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] As is well known, Belorussia has declared its independence. It is taking its first steps in this direction. As Colonel-General Kostenko, commander of the Belorussian Military District, has stated, the republic is planning to set up its own national guard to defend the interests of Belorussians on their national territory. At present, there is no talk of setting up its own army.

Premier, Foreign Minister To Visit South Korea

OW2808145691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1240 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Belorussia Yacheslav Kebich and Petr Kravchenko are to visit South Korea between September 6 and 13. During the talks in Seoul with the South Korean prime minister they are expected to discuss bilateral economic cooperation, primarily the production of farm goods, electronics, and cars.

Ukraine

Further on Talks With RSFSR, USSR

Delegation Arrival Comments

PM2908125991 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Aug 91 Single Edition p 1

[Report by UKRINFORM correspondent and TASS: "What Did Delegations Bring With Them?"]

[Text] Kiev, 28 Aug—An RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] delegation headed by Vice

President A. Rutskoy and a USSR Supreme Soviet delegation headed by USSR People's Deputy A. Sobchak arrived at the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet today.

At Borispol Airport the RSFSR vice president gave an interview at the foot of the aircraft steps.

"The purpose of our visit is to resolve the most important question," he said. "At this moment passions are being aroused over the proclamation of the Ukraine's act of independence. Therefore we plan to draw up a program of joint activity for the further regularization of our relations. For we are Slavs, after all. This must be remembered above all."

Concerning the aims of the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation's visit Sobchak said: Talks are to be held with the leadership of the Ukraine on a very wide range of issues—issues that he did not specify.

The emissaries from Russia and the Union were greeted by rallying Kiev residents and guests of the capital outside the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet. Some approved of the delegations' visit, while others expressed a negative attitude. The people's ardor was cooled by a speech by D. Pavlychko, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Foreign Affairs Standing Commission, who greeted the guests as eminent representatives of democratic Russia.

On the same day a Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium session was held, to which the delegations that have come here were invited.

Talks Concluded

LD2908104891 Moscow TASS in English 0927 GMT 29 Aug 91

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Anatoliy Grigoriyev]

[Text] Kiev August 29 TASS—A working meeting of Russian and Ukrainian delegations ended here today. The Russian delegation was led by Vice-President Alexandr Rutskoy, and the Ukrainian delegation by Chairman of the Ukrainian Parliament Leonid Kravchuk. The meeting was attended by a delegation of the Soviet parliament, led by USSR People's Deputy Anatoliy Sobchak. A joint communique was adopted on the results of the meeting.

A new political situation was created in the USSR as a result of the suppression of the attempted coup, the communique said. It opened up an opportunity to speed up democratic transformations and fully exercise the sovereign rights of the republics.

Participants in the meeting decided to appeal to the states—subjects of the former Union, irrespective of their present status, urging them to immediately start the working out and signing of an economic agreement. After discussions, group members expressed determination to actively promote democratic transformations jointly with other states—subjects of the former Soviet Union, and to pursue a coordinated policy of radical economic reforms.

The sides reiterated their allegiance to the Soviet Union's international commitments, including arms reduction and control agreements, as well as the responsibility for maintaining world peace and stability. Together, they said, they are ready to tackle all problems arising from earlier international agreements, through open debate with former subjects of the Soviet Union and the world community as a whole.

Delegates went on record in favour of the immediate exchange of official representatives between Russia and the Ukraine for keeping each other informed and holding consultations.

Participants in the talks reaffirmed special importance of military-strategic problems and consider it necessary to reform the Soviet Armed Forces and to create a system of collective security, to refrain from unilateral decisions on military-strategic issues, to avoid steps affecting mutual interests of the sides without preliminary consultations.

The sides reaffirmed Articles 2 and 6 on the rights of citizens and territorial integrity of the sides, sealed in the bilateral treaty of November 19, 1990.

Joint Communique Signed

OW2908123591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1045 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At around 2 a.m. on Thursday the heads of the delegations of the Russian Federation and the Ukraine, Aleksandr Rutskoy and Leonid Kravchuk, signed a communique summing up the results of talks in Kiev. A delegation of the Soviet national parliament attended the talks as an observer.

The communique confirms the articles of the November 1990 bilateral treaty on human rights and territorial integrity.

The communique says that "both sides will take steps to prevent the uncontrollable disintegration of the Union." The two sides found it necessary to set up temporary structures involving members of the USSR irrespective of their present status in order to keep up life-support systems and guarantee the functioning of the economy during the transitional period.

The sides to the talks urged members of the former USSR to work out and sign an economic treaty. They stressed the special significance of military-strategic issues. The communique expresses the opinion of the two sides that a reform of the Soviet Armed Forces and the formation of a system of collective security and necessary. The two sides pledged not to make unilateral decisions concerning military-strategic questions and try to avoid steps affecting others without preliminary consultations.

The communique also emphasises the determination to continue together with other members of the former Union democratic changes and coordinated economic reforms.

The communique suggests an immediate exchange of plenipotentiary representatives of the two sides for permanent exchanges of information and consultations.

Russia and the Ukraine confirmed their loyalty to the international commitments of the USSR, including arms reduction and control agreements, their responsibility for maintaining international peace and stability.

The two sides expressed readiness to settle all questions stemming from international commitments through talks with members of the former Union as well as members of the international community.

At 5 a.m. on Thursday the delegations of the Russian Federation and the Soviet national parliament returned to Moscow.

Rutskoy, Kravchuk Comment

LD2908180391 Moscow TASS in English 1550 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Kiev, August 29 UKRINFORM-TASS—A news conference by President of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Leonid Kravchuk and Russian Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy on the results of the meeting of the delegations of the two republics was held in the Ukrainian capital today.

The communique that was signed today by the heads of the Ukrainian and Russian delegations outlined only the fundamental problems of the present, Kravchuk said. Specific details have not been discussed at the meeting. The states concerned will form temporary structures which will assume the task of dealing with economic, political and other problems. Changes that have taken place in the country, including the proclamation of independence by the Ukraine, have been registered.

The thesis of being together with Russia dates back a long time, Kravchuk said. There were various pages in history. "But I believe that in order to stay together it is necessary to build relations on absolutely new principles. Our real unity should be based on mutual respect, justice, equality and absence of any imperial aspirations", he said.

Mutual understanding has been achieved during negotiations in Kiev, said Russian Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy. "By signing this communique we have solved the main task in this situation: to stabilise relations between two Slav republics, to prevent the whipping up of passions", he said. In this situation it is necessary to work out immediately an economic agreement on a new basis and to sign it.

Rutskoy called the attention of journalists to the fact that during the meeting the sides arrived at a consensus on military- strategic problems. He said it is necessary to reform the armed forces and to create a collective security system. Representatives and heads of state of all countries that participated in the forming of the armed forces should make decisions on a collective security system and verification system.

Kravchuk and Rutskoy confirmed that Russia and the Ukraine will be building their relations in accordance with the agreement they have concluded.

Front Secretary on Accord

OW2908153291 Tokyo NHK General Television Network in Japanese 1235 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Telephone interview with (Brumakov), secretary of the "Ukrainian People's Front," by NHK announcer Tadashi Sonoda; from the "NHK News 21" program—recorded; unattributed questions are displayed on screen in Japanese subtitles; (Brumakov) speaks in Russian with Japanese translation provided in subtitles; the following remarks by (Brumakov) are translated from the Russian]

[Text] [Sonoda in Tokyo studio] What kind of effect will the agreement reached between the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] on 29 August have on the Ukrainian SSR's future moves toward independence? A little while ago, we conducted an interview over the phone with (Mr. Burumakov), secretary of the People's Front, (?Rukh), which holds the majority of seats at the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet and plays a leadership role in the independence movement. [video shows (Brumakov) speaking at a platform and scenes of a demonstration]

[Begin recording] [Question] What is the economic and military league established between the Ukrainian SSR and the RSFSR?

[(Brumakov)] This is not a new system. It is a very old one. The Ukraine has declared its independence. There was no talk of a coalition. What we discussed was the fact that we will cooperate and solve economic and military problems together.

[Question] How are relations with the federal government?

[(Brumakov)] We no longer have relations with the federal government. It is already a neighboring state. As to existence of the federal government, we think that probably the central govenment of the USSR will cease to exist. To us, all of the USSR is a neighboring state.

[Question] What are your relations with the RSFSR?

[(Brumakov)] The RSFSR does not approve of the Ukrainian Republic's independence. However, Russia and the Ukraine have confirmed the right of self-determination. [end recording]

Kravchuk's Resignation From CPSU Confirmed

LD3008014291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0100 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Vitaliy Dogich, our Kiev correspondent, has just phoned us, despite such a late hour. He has reported that the rumor that Leonid Kravchuk handed in his notice of resignation from the CPSU back on 19 August has been confirmed. He also resolutely rejected the blackmail of General Varennikov, who had flown in from Paros. In the opinion of many, Kravchuk played it carefully in his public utterances because he had become the hostage of the Bolshevik Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet, as well as the tanks that stood in the Kiev suburbs.

Kravchuk: No 'Sharp Confrontation' Exists

PM2908093691 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Aug 91 Single Edition p 5

[Colonel A. Polyakov report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "L. Kravchuk's Press Conference"]

[Text] Kiev—On Tuesday afternoon L. Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, gave a press conference for Soviet and foreign journalists. He noted that there is no sharp confrontation among various social forces in the Ukraine, however the Ukraine is going through a difficult period.

When asked about the extraordinary session's decision to subordinate all troop formations stationed on the republic's territory to the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, L. Kravchuk said that a republic defense minister would soon be appointed and a special commission or committee set up to enter into talks with the USSR Defense Ministry on effectively subordinating to the Ukraine the troops of three military districts. The internal troops are already being transferred to the jurisdiction of the Ukrainian minister of internal affairs. It has already been decided to hand over buildings that currently house the Kiev Naval Political School to cultural organizations.

L. Kravchuk noted that he and B. Yeltsin hold different views of the future organization of the Union. B. Yeltsin believes that it should be federative, while L. Kravchuk thinks it should be confederative.

Officials, Kravchuk Discuss Defense Ministry

LD3008013991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0100 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Leonid Kravchuk has met with the commanders of the military districts and heads of border, internal and railway troops and other formations. Practical steps toward setting up a ministry of defense of the Ukraine and the defense of its sovereignty and borders were discussed.

Supreme Soviet Assures Citizens of Rights

LD2908205191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1048 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Kiev, 29 Aug (UKRINFORM-TASS)—The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium has adopted an appeal to the citizens of the republic of all nationalities.

It says that the Ukraine adopted an historic document on 24 August—the act of the proclamation of the Ukraine's independence—and has become an independent democratic state.

The Presidium of the republican Supreme Soviet, the document notes, assumes responsibility for the fact that the declaration of the Ukraine's independence will in no way lead to an infringement of the rights of people of any nationality.

Independent Ukraine, as a legal democratic state, the appeal stresses, guided by the generally accepted norms and principles of international law in the ethnic sphere, and the declaration of the Ukraine's state sovereignty, will ensure equal political, economic and social rights for all citizens and complete freedom of development of all national languages and cultures.

There are over 110 ethnic groups who live on the territory of the Ukraine. These include Russians, Jews, Belorussians, Moldavians, Poles, Bulgarians, Hungarians, Crimean Tatars, Romanians, Greeks, Gagauz, and others. Together with Ukrainians they make up the 52 million people of the Ukraine.

Support for Communist Party in Dnepropetrovsk

PM2908110291 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Aug 91 Union Edition p 3

[S. Tsikora report under the general heading, "Events Day by Day": "Dnepropetrovsk Wants To Retain the Communist Party"]

[Text] The republic's four main newspapers—RADYANSKA UKRAINA, PRAVDA UKRAINY, SILSKI VISTI, and RABOCHAYA GAZETA—failed to appear for the first time 27 August. They were the organs of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, whose activities have been suspended since 25 August. The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium has received material attesting to the participation of Ukrainian Communist Party organs in the coup. All the republic Communist Party's property—houses, printing presses, and transportation—has been transferred to the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet.

A special commission has started opening previously sealed safes at Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee premises, and is studying the documents stored in them. The red flag has been removed from the roof of the monumental Central Committee building.

The Kiev City Soviet has renamed the Kreshchatik's central square from October Revolution Square to Independence Square. A decision has been made to dismantle the giant Lenin monument in the square.

Republic radio has reported confrontation between the forces of democracy and the forces of the "past" in Dnepropetrovsk. In the homeland of the creators of stagnation the "men of the past" have demanded that the Ukrainian Communist Party's organizational structures be preserved.

Meanwhile, the republic's Supreme Soviet and Supreme Soviet Presidium are issuing new resolutions one after another. A Ukrainian Defense Ministry has been set up, the republic's government has been instructed to embark on the creation of Ukrainian Armed Forces, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet has been given additional powers, and the Ukraine has recognized the independence of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia.

Trade Union Council Communist Party Disbands

LD2908001991 Kiev Radio Kiev in English
2100 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] The press center of the Council of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions reports that the Communist Party Committee of the Council has decided to disband the organization. Chairman of the Council of Independent Trade Unions of Ukraine (?Kovalevskiy) announced his resignation from the Communist Party.

IZVESTIYA on Post-Coup Developments

PM2808105391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
26 Aug 91 Union Edition p 4

[IZVESTIYA correspondent S. Tsikora report under the general heading: "Wave of Change Rises"]

[Text] Kiev—The victory of Russia's democratic forces has energized the Ukraine's democrats. However the parliamentary majority resisted, the opposition still pressed for the convocation of an extraordinary session of the republic's Supreme Soviet. One question—"On the Political Situation"—was submitted for people's deputies to examine.

At a meeting with journalists S. Gurenko, first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, said that the coming Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet session will be a difficult ordeal for the republic's Communist Party. Communists are now fully conscious of the moral consequences of the involvement of a group of CPSU Central Committee members in the antistate coup.

New political parties and movements are making increasingly active use of the situation taking shape in the republic. Democrats are seizing the initiative and molding public opinion in favor of immediate radical reform. The "Independent Democratic Ukraine" bloc has been set up, comprising 27 parties and organizations.

In extraordinary session 24 August the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet proclaimed Ukrainian independence and the formation of an autonomous Ukrainian state—the Ukraine. It was decided to hold a republic referendum 1 December 1991 to confirm the act of proclamation of independence.

The session's participants considered the question of the political situation. L. Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, delivered a report. Leaders of the parliamentary majority and opposition delivered coreports. It was stressed that the anticonstitutional coup d'etat failed because of opposition from democratic forces, above all the Russian president, and because the ideas of perestroyka have penetrated broad strata of the population.

Kharkov Protest Rally Reported

914A1102D Moscow TRUD in Russian
21 Aug 91 p 2

[Article by M. Yurchenko: "Kharkov"]

[Text] It is quiet in the city. But, naturally, everyone is talking about the events connected with the change in the leadership of the country. On the central square imeni Dzerzhinskiy there was a meeting of the population of the city with deputies of the various levels of soviets. This was not called a rally or a gathering—simply a meeting, but in fact it took the form of a rally. The organs of law and order did not keep it from taking place.

The deputies who spoke—from the city and oblast soviets and the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet—had much the same thing to say: They called the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] an unconstitutional organ of power and even "conspirators." There were appeals for civil disobedience, for nonfulfillment of the ukases and decrees of the committee, and for support of the position of the president of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic].

At the same time the deputies talked about the need to demonstrate sobriety, restraint, and patience when evaluating the situation and in words and actions.

It was decided not to conduct the session of the oblast soviet planned for 20 August.

L. Sukhov, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet, was at his automotive transport enterprise on the day of the rally. Finding himself among workers and drivers, he expressed himself as follows:

"Something like this could have been expected. When there is chaos in the country, someone should try to impose order. What is the sense of talking about the legality of the new authorities and their actions when many constitutional norms and laws, including those adopted by the new makeup of the country's Supreme Soviet, have been violated up until now..."

It was decided to conduct meetings of deputies with the population of the central square in coming days as well.

Oblast Leaders Criticized

PM2808103991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Aug 91 Union Edition p 4

[A. Kleva report under the general heading "Coup Failure Changes Political Situation Locally. IZVESTIYA Correspondents Report": "Kharkov"]

[Text] "Let them break their necks, as long as things are quiet here...." That was the response of the Kharkov Oblast leadership to the military coup and events in Moscow quoted at a press conference by People's Deputy Yevgeniy Kushnarev, chairman of the Kharkov City Soviet.

The reluctance to discover or obtain objective information about the putsch, as well as about the fate of the Soviet president—who was seized by the plotters on Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] territory—was among the accusations he leveled at ranking local and republic officials, who for so long sat on the fence waiting for the outcome of the coup.

The oblast soviet session was postponed on the same pretext—let them fight without us. Then, behind closed doors, a conference of rayon leaders was held at the oblispolkom [oblast soviet executive committee]. Its participants merely confined themselves to exchanging opinions and, as Ye. Kushnarev made clear, everything consequently boiled down to the harvest.

The city deputies acted differently. At an emergency session they condemned the coup, adopted a resolution supporting B. Yeltsin's position, and held mass meetings with voters.

Papers Suspended; Other Media Activities Banned

Papers Protest Action

LD2708144291 Moscow TASS in English 1327 GMT 27 Aug 91

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Anatoliy Grigoryev]

[Text] Kiev August 27 TASS—Ukrainian communist-owned newspapers have been suspended for publishing official material from the ousted Emergency Committee during the recent abortive coup, and the editors of four such dailies protested today against what they called an illegal measure.

"Democracy should not borrow its methods from a totalitarian regime, suppress glasnost or punish the innocent," the staff of SILSKIYE VISTI (RURAL NEWS), a daily with 2,400,000 subscribers, said in their statement.

In a move to resolve the deadlock, the staffs of several Ukrainian Communist Party newspapers decided to go independent, by declaring themselves founders or co-founders of their publications.

TV, Radio Politics Banned

LD2808180991 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 2100 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] The president of the TV and radio broadcasting company of Ukraine Nikolay Okhmakevich issued an order banning the activities of the organizations of political parties in all structures within the company.

Status of Communist Leader Hurenko Reported

Arrest Not Confirmed, Denied

OW2908153891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1415 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In the past few days rumours were spread in Kiev that the leader of the Ukrainian Communist party Stanislav Hurenko is under arrest. These rumours have been neither confirmed nor denied.

The republican prosecutor's office told IF's [INTERFAX's] correspondent that they have no information on this score.

The Kiev city prosecutor Stepan Lotyuk said: "Why should I speak about this? Call the republican prosecutor's office".

The head of the Ukrainian interior ministry declined to answer, while the chairman of the all-knowing Ukrainian KGB Nikolay Galushko said that he learned about Gurenko's arrest from his own driver.

Criminal Proceedings Slated

LD3008012791 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0100 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Criminal proceedings have been initiated against Hurenko, the first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. However, before this, he managed to conduct an underground Central Committee plenum.

Military Official Declared Persona Non Grata

OW2408164191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1500 GMT 24 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the Lvov Regional Council Vyacheslav Chernovil declared chief of the Political Department of the Carpathian Military District Pankratov persona non-grata in the region for his command during the coup attempt to scatter leaflets urging support for the Emergency Committee from an airplane.

A commission was formed in the region to investigate at the premises of the Communist Party regional committee the documents passed during the coup attempt that had been seized yesterday.

An inquiry at the local office of the Aeroflot, the Soviet national airline, found out that first secretary of the regional committee of the Communist Party Vyacheslav Secretaryuk had visited Moscow on August 18, i.e., on the eve of the coup attempt (which Secretaryuk had denied). According to the commission, Secretaryuk had met with Pugo in Moscow. According to the commission, the meeting decided that the Emergency Committee troops would land at a specially prepared airport at the town of Yavorov, Western Ukraine.

Attempt Made To Obstruct UKRINFORM Work

LD2808203391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1227 GMT 28 Aug 91

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Yefim Shvartsman]

[Text] Odessa, 28 Aug (Tass)—The start of the working day in UKRINFORM's Odessa section was ruined today. Staff arriving for work were not allowed into the building of the oblast party committee, where, by arrangement with the authorities, the section has been legally renting office premises since the beginning of the year.

Once the seizure for safekeeping of the property of oblast party committees by local soviets became known, the staff of the section duly notified the leadership of the oblast and city Soviets of People's Deputies and handed them a list of the staff who had to turn up for work [there] every day. The authorities declared that they would not create any obstacles to the activities of the UKRINFORM section or to its staff's access to their place of work.

Early this morning, however, since the building of the oblast party committee was sealed, the staff were unable to start work on time. Only toward noon, after discussions with representatives of the oblast Soviet of People's Deputies, were the workforce of the UKRINFORM section able to assert their legal right to work in their own premises.

The situation is complicated still further by the fact that office accommodation is rented in the building of the oblast party committee by various public organizations—specifically, the Lenin Children's Fund, the "Finist" Bank and others.

Fifteen Thousand Jews Want To Leave Country

LD2608210191 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 0000 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Text] Fifteen thousand Jews are queueing for obtaining visas to leave Ukraine for abroad. The exodus of the Jews from this republic is explained primarily by their desire to live in their historic homeland. However, quite a few of them leave Ukraine due to economic reasons, having no opportunity to apply in full measure their skills in this republic.

Kiev To Dismantle Lenin Monument, Rename Square

LD2808202991 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 2100 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] The Kiev City Soviet has taken a decision on dismantling the monument to Vladimir Lenin and other leaders of the October Revolution period, and also those monuments which are of no artistic value. All these monuments are planned to be placed in a memorial museum of the victims of Stalinist repressions. The museum will be located near the burials of the victims of the Stalinist reprisals.

The City Soviet also took a decision to rename the October Revolution Square Independence Square.

Lvov Council To Address Religious Issue

OW2808145791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1240 GMT 26 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A commission of the Lvov Regional Council checking the archives of the Regional Committee of the Communist Party has discovered a resolution recommending party committees to offer permanent support to the Orthodox Church.

IF [INTERFAX] was informed by the Lvov authorities, that the resolution was one of the causes for the aggravation of the conflict between Orthodox and Uniate Christians last year.

Moldova

Independence Recognized by Romania, Georgia

LD2908101591 Moscow TASS in English 0729 GMT 29 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Fedor Angeli]

[Text] Kishinev August 29 TASS—Romania and Georgia have officially recognised Moldavia's independence, Moldavian President Mircha Snegur and parliament head Aleksandru Mosanu told a news conference here on Wednesday.

According to Snegur, Moldavian and Romanian leaders are expected to meet in Kishinev in the near future.

Speaking about North Bukovina and South Bessarabia, which are in the Ukraine's jurisdiction, the Moldavian leaders noted the issue will be discussed with the Ukraine's leadership. The time will come to meet at a negotiating table and resolve the issue, they said.

President Snegur Views Independence, Future

PM2908153091 Paris LE FIGARO in French 27 aug 91 p 6

[Interview with Moldovan President Mircha Snegur by Vladimir Ivanov in Kishinev—date not given]

[Text] [Ivanov] Moldova is declaring its independence today. What future will it now have?

[Snegur] As you can see, the Soviet empire is disappearing and these are therefore the best conditions in which to declare our independence. This is particularly true because the Ukraine and Belorussia are following the same course. What we will do now is create a free and democratic republic of Moldova, while continuing the policy of economic integration with Romania.

Independence is a temporary stage. There will initially be two coexisting Romanian states, but that will not last. I would like to emphasize that Moldovan independence is a stage and not a goal.

[Ivanov] Do you expect immediate recognition from Romania?

[Snegur] It would be very painful for us if Romania was not the first country to recognize us....

[Ivanov] Have you received assurances about that?

[Snegur] I came to that conclusion through the relations and ties of cooperation that we have with the Romanian authorities, the Bucharest parliament, and the various democratic political organizations in Romania.

With regard to foreign countries, we are not expecting miracles, but, according to the contacts we have had with some embassies, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria would be prepared to recognize us. With regard to the Western countries, we will have to go and leave our visiting cards....

[Ivanov] How long do you think reunification with Romania will take?

[Snegur] It is impossible to say exactly. I would like to repeat that the declaration of independence is just a starting point. After that, integration will continue until we find the appropriate moment. But that is likely to take time.

[Ivanov] In what practical way do you intend to demonstrate Moldova's independence?

[Snegur] First, we will create a national army. We already have a defense department within the government, and we will turn it into a full ministry. Then a national currency will be issued, the name of which still has to be decided. We will have to choose between the Moldovan leu (to distinguish it from the Romanian leu—LE FIGARO editor's note) or the galben. At all events this is already on the agenda.

Another point is that all the Soviet enterprises that are controlled by central government in Moscow will henceforth come under Moldova's jurisdiction and control.

Finally, once independence has been declared, we will start negotiations on the withdrawal of all Soviet troops from Moldova and on controlling our country's external borders.

[Ivanov] In the economic sphere, how do you envisage the survival of an independent Moldova?

[Snegur] We have concluded two important economic cooperation agreements, one with Romania and the other with the Russian republic. This will protect us adequately for a good period. In addition, we have very good economic relations with the Ukraine and Belorussia. But, whatever happens, one thing is certain: If the people continue to support us as they have done so far, we will overcome any ups and downs. At all events, I do not think that economic problems will be worse in the future than they have been so far.

[Ivanov] What does the notion of independence mean to you?

[Snegur] Independence is not very complex.... I will give you an example. The Moldovan Government was recently invited to a colloquium on the Soviet Union at Crans-Montana in Switzerland. We sent a very high-level delegation, namely the president—me—, the prime minister, and the foreign minister. We settled quietly into the hotel and nobody noticed us. The Soviet ambassador to Moscow did not even deem fit to greet us because he was so busy following the delegation sent by Moscow. You see, independence for us will be when the ambassador feels obliged to greet us....

Leaders Inform Gorbachev of Independence

LD2908180291 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1500 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Mircha Snegur, president of Moldova, and Aleksandr Moshanu, chairman of the republic's parliament, have sent a telegram to USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. It states in particular: On 27 August, the parliament of the Republic of Moldova unanimously adopted a declaration on the independence of the Republic of Moldova. An official delegation has been formed that is authorized to hold talks relating to all issues on regulating relations between the Moldovan Republic and the USSR. The leaders of Moldova have expressed hope that the resolution of the supreme state authority in the republic will be received with understanding and that this will allow favorable conditions to be established for the restoration of fully equal interstate relations between the Moldovan Republic and the USSR in accordance with the generally accepted norms of international laws and existing world practice.

Snegur Appeals to Trans-Dniestria for Harmony

AU2908202291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1859 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/8/1991—President Mircea Snegur of the Republic of Moldova addressed an appeal to the population of Trans-Dniestria which stresses that independence reflects the interests of both the Moldovans and the ethnic groups living in Moldova. The appeal highlights that "efforts will further be made so that all ethnic groups in Moldova should feel protected by law no matter what part of the republic they live in. The people have chosen their path voting for independence," President Snegur's appeal reads. It calls on the population in Trans-Dniestria not to let itself be involved in anticonstitutional actions, to ignore the appeals of the separatist leaders.

No Heightened Tensions With Gagauz Noted

OW2908162991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1415 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Konstantin Taushanji, member of Moldova's parliament and a leader of the Gagauzi movement, said in an interview for Moldavian radio that the leaders of the Gagauzi-populated Vulkaneshti region had direct communications with Anatoliy Lukyanov during the recent coup. "They get in position to get in touch with him any time", he said.

According to Konstantin Taushanji, in those days the Gagauzi opposition was in touch with Gorbachev's advisers whose names he declined to mention. These people in Moscow, he said, wanted peace and accord in Moldova. However there were also people in Moscow who did not want this.

According to Taushanji, "the attempts to heighten tensions between Moldavians and Gagauzis failed".

Rebel 'Dniester Republic President' Arrested

AU2908202091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1811 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Chisinau [Kishinev] ROMPRES, 29/08/1991—Trustworthy sources in Tiraspol announced that Thursday at noon Igor Smirnov, president of the so-called Dniester Republic, was arrested by four workers dressed as civilians of the Ministry of the Interior of the Republic of Moldova when he was getting out of a hotel in Kiev and was ready to climb a governmental car together with a Ukrainian official.

The news item about his arrest was confirmed by Andrey Manailov, Smirnov's second-in-command.

An arrest warrant had been issued for Smirnov who was accused of plot against the state interests of the Republic of Moldova.

In a phone call the ROMPRES special correspondents had with Mr. Ion Costas, minister of the interior of the Republic of Moldova, in Chisinau concerning the aforementioned, he confirmed the authenticity of that news item.

Reasons for Arrest Detailed

OW2908202791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1845 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Unconfirmed reports say that on Thursday morning, Igor Smirnov, the president of the Dniester Republic (unilaterally proclaimed last year and situated on the left bank of the Dniestr, where the population is Russian-speaking; the republic is not recognised by the Moldovan authorities) was seized by unknown assailants in Kiev and driven away in an unknown direction. Smirnov's supporters say that the abduction is the work of the Moldovan security service.

A representative of the official Ukrainian authorities reported that he knew nothing of Smirnov's abduction.

On August 22nd Smirnov had sent telegrammes to the USSR and RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] prosecutors general, asking that investigators be sent to the Dniester Republic to look into alleged instances of surveillance of supporters of the Union treaty by the Moldovan authorities.

It was reported in Kishinev that persons who had actively supported the State of Emergency Committee during the coup were being detained and arrested.

Additional Child Clothing Allowances Introduced

PM2808143391 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Aug 91 p 2

[Unattributed report under "In Sovereign Republics" rubric: "Supplement to Family Budget"]

[Text] Additional measures to compensate the population for losses in connection with the increase in retail prices have been adopted by decision of the Moldovan Government and the republic's Independent Trade Union Federation. Annual payments to obtain clothing for children and schoolchildren have been established in addition to the compensation already being received. The scale of the compensation is 200 rubles [R] for preschoolchildren and schoolchildren up to the age of 13 and R250 for senior graders and students of vocational and technical schools who are not provided with uniform clothing.

Georgia

Official Reaction to Coup Attempt Reported

AU2908193691 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 21 August 1991 p 1

[Statement by the president of the Republic of Georgia, the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Georgia, and the Government of the Republic of Georgia, issued in Tbilisi on 19 August 1991]

[Text] As has become known from the mass media of the Soviet Union, in view of the fact that Mikhail Gorbachev's state of health does not make it possible for him to fulfill his duties as USSR president, in accordance with the USSR Constitution Gennadiy Yanayev, USSR vice president, has taken up the duties as USSR president. A state of emergency has been declared in individual regions of the Soviet Union, from 0100 GMT on 19 August, for six months. Specific regions in which the state of emergency has been declared are not named. The Extraordinary Committee for the State of Emergency has been created in the USSR.

These statements turned out to be unexpected for Georgian authorities. The president of the Republic of Georgia, the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Georgia, and the Government of the Republic of Georgia believe that the main thing in the situation that developed is to maintain calm, order, and discipline.

We are calling upon central and local organs of power and social and political organizations of the Republic of Georgia and of the autonomous republics to take into account the situation that has taken shape and the need to take united and coordinated actions.

We are calling upon everyone to remain at their workplaces, to fulfill their service duties, not to yield to provocations, to avoid spontaneous actions, and to obey orders issued by Georgian authorities.

We are convinced that this is the only way for us to be able to guarantee both civic peace and high civic consciousness and responsibility.

[Signed] President of the Republic of Georgia,

Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Georgia,

Government of the Republic of Georgia.

[Dated] 19 August 1991, Tbilisi.

Gamsakhurdia Welcomes Collapse of Moscow Coup

AU3008120791 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 23 Aug 91 p 1

["Statement for the Mass Media" by Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia; place and date not given]

[Text] The Republic of Georgia together with the whole world expresses its deep joy in connection with the collapse of the reactionary coup in Moscow. As President Bush declared, democracy has triumphed again. This testifies to the fact that the peoples within the Soviet empire want to have the right and possibility to choose their own governments. It is precisely such striving for freedom and democracy that illuminates the road for Georgia and for other republics wanting to rule their own destinies.

[Signed] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia.

Gamsakhurdia Appeals to West for Recognition

AU2908191191 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 21 Aug 91 p 1

["Message by the President of the Republic of Georgia to Peoples and Governments of Western Countries," issued in Tbilisi on 20 August 1991]

[Text] An unstable situation that may become uncontrollable in the near future has taken shape in the Soviet Union.

This course of events is always inevitable in a totalitarian empire, in which a powerful process of liberalization sets in. In the face of such events, a principled position of Western states, an uncompromising assessment of the situation, as well as diplomatic and other activities, acquire decisive significance. The West must not remain a passive observer.

It is extremely difficult to give a political assessment of the coup that has taken place, because it is not yet clear whether this is a genuine coup, or a deal, or something staged for the purpose of obtaining political dividends on which some leaders are counting.

The most important thing for the West to do is to support only that power in the USSR which was elected by the people and the establishment of democracy and pluralism.

The present unstable situation and a possible victory by the reactionary forces are, first and foremost, a threat to those republics within the Soviet Union that are fighting for their independence and that have parliaments and presidents elected by the people. They are facing an immediate threat of armed aggression. For that reason, I appeal to Western governments, primarily to the United States of America, to recognize the independence of these republics, including Georgia, de facto and de jure and to establish diplomatic relations with them, thereby defending the gains achieved by them through genuinely democratic reforms.

[Signed] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia.

[Dated] 20 August 1991, Tbilisi.

Armenia

Presidium Against Emergency Session on Sovereignty

LD2908230691 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1500 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] The Republic of Armenia's Supreme Soviet Presidium considered appeals by a number of public-political organizations and some Armenian parliament deputies demanding that an emergency session of the republic's Supreme Soviet be convened and that Armenia be immediately proclaimed an independent, sovereign state. The Presidium thinks that it makes no sense to hold a session on this issue pending the nationwide referendum, which will answer the quesion of whether the Armenian people want to live in an independent, sovereign state outside the USSR.

Ter-Petrosyan Says West Must React Now

AU3008074591 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 29 Aug 91 p 3

[Article by Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan: "Gorbachev Must Bear Full Responsibility"]

[Text] Yerevan—The world has become used to Armenian victims in our struggle for democracy and independence. The attempted coup of Brezhnev-style masters last week, however, has finally brought the battle to Moscow. It had to be won there, and not in the embattled villages in Karabakh or along Armenia's borders.

Armenia has paid a high price for being the testing ground of methods that were in the limelight of international attention last week. My government was not surprised by the putsch, its leaders, or the methods employed.

Nor should President Mikhail Gorbachev have been surprised or felt betrayed. It is a sad fact that the putsch leaders were his allies, friends, and persons he had appointed.

While Gorbachev may not have approved of it, he did tolerate the unconstitutional deployment of military personnel and equipment against civilians in Armenia, Karabakh, Lithuania, Estonia, Georgia, and other regions.

He failed to denounce the pogroms against Armenians between 1988 and 1990, pogroms that were organized and encouraged by the same criminals who were ready to deploy the Army against civilians in Moscow and to put an end to the reforms in the USSR.

Last year, my government was doing a lot to describe the significance of these leaders in regions outside Moscow, and to explain the long-term implications of their unconstitutional activities. Democrats in Moscow and Western governments preferred to accept the Soviet Government's definition of the victims as "extremists" and "nationalists" and to ignore the existing evidence. For their own reasons, Western governments also accepted the fact that Gorbachev used the threat of a right-wing putsch, which allowed them to close an eye to any excesses that he tolerated and accepted.

"A Look at the List of the Putschists Was Enough"

The democratically elected Armenian leaders considered the putsch unacceptable—not only because it was unconstitutional but also because a look at the list of the putschists was sufficient for them to realize that these people would put an end to the political and economic reforms in Armenia.

On 20 August, the Armenian Parliament Presidium adopted a resolution denouncing the putsch as unconstitutional, stating Armenia's support for resistance under the leadership of Russian President Boris Yeltsin, and calling for a meeting of the USSR Council of the Federation, where the republic presidents are represented, to bring about a solution to the crisis. We were also among the first to congratulate President Yeltsin on the overthrow of the "Committee."

Nonetheless, during the grave affliction, Armenia was highly aware of the danger that the explosive situation constituted for our people's security. Armenia was one of the regions that the putschists wanted to see ruled by military leaders, and a group of senior, high-ranking military officers had already been sent to Yerevan for this purpose.

What is more important is the fact that Armenia and the Armenians have been the target of these same forces for more than three years now. As USSR leaders, Gennadiy Yanayev, Boris Pugo, Vladimir Kryuchkov, Dmitriy Yazov, and others ordered or tolerated the deployment of the Army and KGB and Interior Ministry forces to terrorize and deport Armenians from their villages in Nagorno-Karabakh in Azerbaijan, where the Communist Party is still in power.

Last May, the 4th Soviet Army, which is deployed in Azerbaijan, used tanks, helicopters, and heavy artillery to wage an undeclared war against the villages along Armenia's border with Azerbaijan, in which 75 citizens were killed.

These operations were aimed at punishing Armenia for having successfully implemented political and economic reforms and for having opted for independence.

In some cases, they were the same elite units under the command of the same officials who had attacked Armenian villages in May. They also appeared on the scene some days ago to attack Moscow.

We were aware that Armenia could once again be used as an arena for games in which the Armenian people do not want to take part. These old gentlemen of the Brezhnev era manipulated the problem of self-determination for the Armenians in Karabakh in order to destabilize the newly born democracy in Armenia. The smallest incident by an overly zealous military officer could have had serious consequences for our people.

During the whole difficult period, it was of urgent importance for us to guarantee political and social stability. We have kept open our channels to the Soviet Army units deployed in Armenia in order to avoid anything that could provoke an intervention, increase tension, or disturb life.

Reproaches to Western Governments

President Gorbachev must assume full responsibility for the putsch. His failure to systematically start implementing economic reforms and consistently support democratic forces, and his regular concessions to right-wing elements are directly responsible for the fact that an economic reform program was not accepted. That has strengthened the conservatives and has enhanced the impudence of their actions.

The Western governments are also to a certain extent responsible for the course of events because they fully and unconditionally supported Gorbachev's policy.

The laurels of this victory are due to Boris Yeltsin and nobody else. The least that democratic governments can see now is that only democratic forces and really free nations with elected governments can guarantee economic or political reforms. Only sovereign and independent nations can determine their interests freely and create forms of association of their choice with their neighbors.

It is about time Western governments reconsidered their support for a central government whose main function has been to maintain and use a repressive apparatus. Western governments did not appreciate the fact that the real power is with the people and with the elected governments in the republics, irrespective of how convenient a centralized state may be for "stable" international relations.

While much remains to be explained, it is clear to us that Armenia cannot bind its future to a union where imperialism is the dominant ideology, and where repression continues to be the government's preferred lever.

Ever since Moscow returned to constitutional authority, it has not been at all clear that the vision the central authorities have for the union or the nations of which it consists will be basically different from the one they demonstrated prior to the putsch.

The failure to tackle these problems properly and learn a lesson from the events is bound to lead to more and bloodier surprises. That is why Armenia has no reason to change its goal of independence. Thus Armenia remains committed to reaching this goal by constitutional means. We will hold our referendum on independence on 21 September. I have no doubt that only very few, if any, citizens see an alternative to independence.

Azerbaijan

Extraordinary Supreme Soviet Session Opens

LD2908235191 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1500 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] An extraordinary session of the Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet has opened in Baku. The session will ratify the powers of the newly elected people's deputies, discuss the political situation in the Republic, and consider the question on the regime of the state of emergency in Baku and other issues.

Communist Party Leaves CPSU

LD2908192391 Moscow TASS in English 1856 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Baku August 29 TASS—The Communist Party of Azerbaijan has quit the Soviet Communist Party.

This became known after the recent plenary meeting of the Azerbaijanian Communist Party Central Committee in Baku, where President of the Republic and First Secretary of the Azerbaijanian Communist Party Central Committee Ayaz Mutalibov made a political statement, "On the Current Moment".

The plenary meeting took into account Mutalibov's announcement about his leaving the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, as well as about the secession of Azerbaijanian members of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and the Central Control Commission from these bodies.

It was also decided to convene an extraordinary congress of the Azerbaijanian Communist Party this September.

Session Proceeds 'Very Turbulently'

LD3008001991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Report by correspondent M. Mamedov on 29 August Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet session; from the "TV Inform" program—recorded]

[Text] The deputies honored the memory of those who had fallen during the days of the putsch in Moscow and also of the peaceful inhabitants and the servicemen who have been killed recently in Nagorno-Karabakh.

The work of the Azerbaijan parliament proceeded very turbulently. Opposition from the Independent Azerbaijan bloc demanded the inclusion on the agenda of questions connected with banning the republic's Communist Party and a political assessment of its activity and that of the mass news media during the days of the coup. Popular Front supporters, who assembled outside the Republican Supreme Soviet building, came along to support their deputies. However, these proposals were rejected by a majority vote.

Republican President Ayaz Mutalibov reported on the political situation in Azerbaijan. He particularly noted that Azerbaijan was one of the first republics in the country to proclaim its sovereignty and to embark on the path of the democratic transformations of society, and that this had been achieved together by all the political parties and movements. Decrees have already been published on the departyization of all establishments and enterprises and the transfer of a number of the Central Committee's buildings to the Republic's Ministry of Culture. After analyzing the present situation and touching on the continuing war in Nagorno-Karabakh and economic difficulties, the president emphasized that everyone now needs to emphasize restraint and common sense. There are national ideas and interests that can only be defended in unity and accord.

When we left the hall the debate on Mutalibov's speech was still continuing. In all probability this latest session will continue its work tomorrow.

Independence Declared

LD3008123991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1227 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Baku, 30 Aug (AZERINFORM-TASS)—A session of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet today adopted a declaration on independence which restores the independence of the sovereign republic. It has been proclaimed that Azerbaijan will maintain friendly relations with all the republics belonging to the Union.

President Denies Supporting Emergency Committee

OW2908165391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Azerbaijani President Ayaz Mutalibov stated that his position, expressed during the days of the coup, regarding the activities of the State of Emergency Committee (SEC) was in no way different to that of the leadership of many other republics, in particular Armenia.

Addressing the Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet on August 29th, he stated that not one of the SEC's demands in Azerbaijan was implemented. However, the Azerbaijani president said that he could not but support the SEC's decree on the disarming of illegal armed groups.

Mr. Mutalibov assessed the position of the centre towards Azerbaijan in the light of the confrontation in Nagorno-Karabakh as negative and the role of Mikhail Gorbachev in the escalation of Azerbaijan-Armenia conflict as conniving.

President Mutalibov announced his resignation as a member of the CPSU Politburo and as the leader of the Azerbaijani Communist Party.

Mutalibov Against Removing Troops From NKAO

LD2908222191 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 29 Aug 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] In this fragile world, nuclear weapons are not the only things that constitute a mortal danger. INTERFAX reports that over the past two days seven people have been wounded in the Armenian villages of Verishen and Karachinar in Shaumyanskiy Rayon [Azerbaijan] as a result of artillery, rocket, and machine-gun fire by Azerbaijan's Special Purpose Militia Detachment and the 23d Division of the 4th Army.

Everyone probably realizes that it is time at last to make a decision. (Fuad-ogly), a correspondent of the Democratic Russia Foundation's press service, has interviewed Azerbaijan's President Mutalibov: [video shows correspondent interviewing Mutalibov]

[Begin recording] [(Fuad-ogly)] There is information to the effect that certain forces from the center are trying to sidestep the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and to remove troops from there.

[Mutalibov] Recently, while I was at a meeting with President Gorbachev a few days ago, the first thing I said was that I was outraged by the fact that General Moiseyev, who had not yet managed to become the acting minister, had already issued an instruction on the border posts between Armenia and Azerbaijan. Does he, or the person who gave him that instruction, realize the full measure of the responsibility that, in the given instance, that man is assuming? I do not advise you, Mikhail Sergeyevich, in the situation in which you and I find ourselves, to provoke more disasters of that sort. There will be a St. Bartholomew's Day massacre if you remove the soldiers. That is precisely what it will be. It will be the slaughter of one unarmed people by another people, armed to the teeth. It is, in general, hard to imagine what will happen then.

[(Fuad-ogly)] But what if the troops are nevertheless withdrawn from Nagorno-Karabakh?

[Mutalibov] If that happens, I shall declare a state of emergency throughout Azerbaijan. I shall call up all reservists. I shall create paramilitary formations. I shall put all industry onto a regime of designing and producing military hardware. [end recording]

Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast

Shooting, Shelling Reported 28-29 Aug

LD2908225991 Moscow TASS in English 1753 GMT 29 Aug 91

[By AZERINFORM-TASS]

[Text] Baku August 29 TASS—The Azerbaijan settlement of Malybeyli of the Shusha region was under rifle and machine-gun fire last night. The firing came from the Armenian settlement of Dashkend of the Askeran region of Nagorno-Karabakh.

Five houses, where Armenian refugees lived, were damaged, sources at the Azerbaijan Interior Ministry report.

On the previous night the town of Khodzhaly was rocket shelled and put under rifle and machine-gun fire from Armenian settlements of the Askeran region. The 90-minute shelling damaged 20 houses and a recently-built school.

Tensions continue in the Geranboy region of Azerbaijan.

According to the Azerbaijan State Security Committee, militants from the Armenian settlements of Karachinar and Yenikend yesterday shelled the Azerbaijan village of Shafak. The artillery and mortar fire devastated houses and a village school.

Situation 'Remains Tense'

NC3008145491 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast and Geranboyskiy Rayon remains tense. Additional reinforcements, military equipment, and arms have been dispatched to the Armenian bandit groups in the region. In particular, attacks on the republic's residential areas and guard posts manned by the law enforcement organs increased between 25 and 27 August. Armed men have attacked not only areas inhabited by Azerbaijanis, but also areas inhabited by the Russian population. For example, an armed attack was launched on (?Barishchi) town in Geranboyskiy Rayon. The town is inhabited by Russians. Cattle were driven away and residents' vehicles were stolen. Three residents were beaten. This has been reported by the public relations department of the Azerbaijan Republic Committee for State Security [KGB].

The most serious clash took place in Shafak town in Geranboyskiy Rayon during the same period. Nearly 200 armed men fired on Shafak with heavy machine guns, rocket launchers, and other arms and tried to approach the town from the direction of Karachinar and Yenikend towns, which are inhabited by Armenians. Although the armed men managed to place a number of the nearby hills under their control and approach the building which houses the directorate of the state farm in the area, the employees of the republic's KGB and the units of the Internal Affairs Ministry succeeded in repulsing them. Two of the employees of the republic's KGB were wounded in the clash.

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev Warns Yeltsin, Calls For Talks

LD2908212691 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1500 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Nursultan Nazarbayev, the president of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, has sent a telegram to Russian President Boris Yeltsin expressing his concern about the fact that so far Russia has not issued in print a clear rejection of territorial claims on the borders of the republic, so public protest is gathering force in Kazakhstan and this could have unforseeable consequences. This could force the republic to take measures similar to those adopted in the Ukraine. Particular danger lies in the fact that Kazakhstan is a nuclear republic. Because of this, I ask you to urgently send us an official representative of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] to sign a relevant communique. I hope that you will do this, Nazarbayev emphasized, in the context of our good relations with you and of the agreements adopted between the RSFSR and Kazakhstan.

Nazarbayev also proposed sending urgent telegrams to all 15 republics with the proposal that they should immediately get together, preferably prior to the extraordinary congress of USSR People's Deputies, to adopt documents on creating an economic union and also to discuss the definitive draft Union treaty with those who wish to sign it. The place for this meeting could be the cities of Kiev, Minsk, or Alma-Ata.

Russian, Kazakh Talks Begin

OW2908165991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Thursday at about 18:00 Moscow Time [1500 GMT] a delegation of Russian MPs led by Vice-President Aleander Rutskoy arrived in Alma Ata. Its talks with the Kazakh leaders are to include issues connected with Russia's statement on the possibility of revising its borders with adjoining republics.

At the moment a mass meeting is taking place in Alma Ata. Speakers have said they don't understand Russia's attitude to this issue, since quite recently a bilateral agreement in which both sides recognized the present borders was signed.

Later this evening Russia's Vice-President Alexander Rutskoy and Kazakhstan's President Nursultan Nazarbayev are to give a news conference.

Report on Talks

LD3008151391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1248 GMT 30 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Konstantin Borodinov]

[Text] Alma-Ata, 30 Aug (TASS)—A working meeting took place here today between state delegations of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] and Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] occasioned by the political situation which has taken shape in the country and the need to strengthen the sovereign rights of the republics. A communique was worked out during the meeting, which took place in a business-like, friendly atmosphere. It was signed by Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev and RSFSR Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy.

The delegations confirmed their adherence to the treaty between the Kazakh SSR and the RSFSR of 21 November 1990 which was ratified by the parliaments of both republics. Mutual obligations were also confirmed on question of rights of citizens and the territorial integrity of the two sovereign republics.

To prevent an uncontrolled disintegration of the union state, the delegations proposed, for a transitional period, to maintain systems that provide basic necessities for the population and the functioning of the economy, the creation of temporary interstate structures of management with the participation of the republics. Moreover, it is necessary to begin urgently the preparation of an economic agreement.

The communique envisages solutions on military-strategic questions and problems of space research and communications, only on the basis of interstate consultations and agreements. Bodies of the KGB and the Internal Affairs Ministry situated on the territory of sovereign states are under the exclusive command of their highest bodies of power unless otherwise defined by interstate agreements.

The delegations supported Kazakhstan's decision to close down the Semipalatinsk nuclear testing ground, noting at the same time the importance of stepping up efforts at an international level to ban nuclear tests.

Joint Communique Issued

LD3008142591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Russia and Kazakhstan have made a statement on the need for joint action with the aim of preventing the uncontrolled disintegration of the Union state. This is stated in a joint communique which was adopted as a result of the talks in Alma-Ata between Nursultan Nazarbayev, the president of Kazakhstan, and Aleksandr Rutskoy, the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] vice president. The sides consider that during the transitional period to maintain the system of provision to the population and for the functioning of the national economy, it would be expedient to set up a temporary state administration structure with the participation on an equal footing of the states which have an interest in this, and which are subjects of the former Union. The RSFSR and Kazakhstan have proposed that all states subject to the former Union, regardless of their former status, should urgently start preparations for an economic agreement among themselves.

The document also states that the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and KGB bodies situated on the territory of sovereign states should exclusively be subordinate to the bodies of authority of these states.

The Russian Federation has supported Kazakhstan's decision on closing the Semipalatinsk nuclear testing site. The sides are intending to build their interstate relations on the principles of equality, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, a refusal to use economic force or any other sort of pressure, and the settling all contentious problems by means of agreement. They have confirmed their mutual responsibility on the issue of the rights of citizens and on the territorial integrity of each side.

Nazarbayev, Rutskoy Meet Reporters

LD3008164791 Moscow TASS in English 1523 GMT 30 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Murat Buldekbayev]

[Text] Alma-Ata August 30 TASS—The treaty between Kazakhstan and Russia signed in November of last year envisages the holding in case of need of urgent working meetings of plenipotentiary delegations of the two republics. One such meeting was held in the recent days in Alma-Ata. This was pointed out to reporters at a news conference that was held today after a communique was signed by Kazakhstan's President Nursultan Nazarbayev and Vice President of the Russian Federation Aleksandr Rutskoy.

It was pointed out at the news conference that negotiations between the delegations of the two republics confirmed the effectiveness of the treaty between Kazakhstan and Russia and the reality of its articles about the equality of all peoples inhabiting both republics and inviolability of frontiers. A constructive dialogue allayed the anxiety of the public.

Russia and Kazakhstan remain in favour of creating a new state structure on a basis of sovereignty of its subjects and equality of all ethnic groups in the country. The need to achieve economic agreement between all the 15 republics was emphasised particularly.

Nazarbayev and Rutskoy answered questions of reporters about the future of the Union, the ensurance of the defence potential of the country and republics and other questions. It was, specifically, explained that in one of his statements Boris Yeltsin spoke of delimitation of frontiers in case some republic withdraw from the union, and not of territorial claims to neighbours. The Russian side believes that the delimitation of frontiers is needed for effective customs and border controls.

President's Decree Closing Semipalatinsk Reported

LD2908230291 Alma-Ata Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 1500 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] The president of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] has issued a decree on the closure of the Semipalatinsk nuclear test site:

Nuclear weapons tests have been conducted in Semipalatinsk Oblast in the territory of Kazakh SSR since 1949. During this period about 500 nuclear explosions took place, which damaged the health and lives of thousands of people.

In view of the fact that the Kazakh Republic has fulfilled its duty in the creation of the nuclear potential that ensured strategic military parity between the USSR and the United States, and taking into consideration the demands of the citizens of the republic, I decree:

1. To close the Semipalatinsk nuclear test site.

2. The Cabinet of Ministers of the Kazakh SSR, together with the USSR Defense Ministry and the USSR Ministry of Atomic Energy and Industry to transform the Semipalatinsk test site into a Union- Republican research center, and to endorse its status and the list of the main trends of research in 1991.

3. In view of the fact that damage was done to the health of the population in the rayons near the Semipalatinsk test site in the air and underground by tests conducted from 1949 to 1962, the amount and procedure of compensation to citizens of the Kazakh SSR who have been affected is to be determined jointly with the Union bodies.

4. The Cabinet of Ministers of the Kazakh SSR, togther with the Union ministries and departments involved in the staging of nuclear explosions on the republic's territory should endorse the program of social and economic development and improvement of living standards and medical services for the population of Semipalatinsk, Karaganda, and Pavlodar Oblasts adjoining the range, and to draw on finance from appropriate Union sources for this purpose.

The decree comes into force from the moment of its adoption.

[Signed] Nursultan Nazarbayev, president of the Kazakh SSR, City of Alma-Ata, 29 August 1991.

More on Semipalatinsk Closing

OW2908203591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1845 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A meeting, organised by the political parties and other Kazakh social organisations, was held on 29th August in the Kazakh Academy of Sciences building in

Alma Ata. The participants demanded the closure of the Semipalatinsk Polygon, where nuclear tests are carried out.

Many of the speakers criticized Russian President Boris Yeltsin's statement that the Russian Federation may press territorial claims against other republics. Other speakers welcomed the suggestion of declaring the Cosmodrome at Baikonur the property of Kazakhstan.

The meeting adopted a resolution calling for the immediate closure of the Semipalatinsk nuclear polygon. "INTERFAX" has since learnt that Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev today (August 29th) signed a decree closing down the Semipalatinsk test site.

Kyrgyzstan

Justice Ministry Suspends Communist Activity

OW2908164991 Moscow INTEP.FAX in English 1600 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday Kyrgyzia's Ministry of Justice adopted a decree to suspend the activity of the local Communist Party for 6 months. In accordance with Article 24 of the bill on political and public associations Communist Party organizations are forbidden to publish propagandistic statements in the mass media, organize meetings and hold conferences, plenums or congresses in the next 6 months.

Vice President on Republican KGB's Role

OW2908155491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1415 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At Wednesday's press conference German Kuznetsov, Vice-President of Kirghizia and chairman of the republican KGB, gave support to the stand taken by the new Chairman of the USSR KGB Vadim Bakatin who believes that the republican committees should be given independence, while the central agencies should perform coordinating functions.

According to G. Kuznetsov, endeavors aimed at reorienting the republican KGB are already in progress in Kyrgyzia. The KGB, he said, should engage only in intellienge, counterintelligence, anti-terrorist activity and, in cooperation with the interior ministry, in the struggle against organized crime.

According to G. Kuznetsov, a unit for protecting Kirghizia's President independent of the KGB has already been formed. It will be subordinate only to Askar Akayev.

Besides, the Vice-President of Kyrgyzia called for creating in the near future a "professional paramilitary group subordinate to the president to ensure state security, if not national self-defence forces".

Tajikistan

Communist Party Declares Break From CPSU

LD3008013691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0651 GMT 29 Aug 91

[By TAJIKTA-TASS correspondent Irina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe, 29 August (TAJIKTA-TASS)—The Communist Party of Tajikistan is leaving the CPSU. This decision was taken by the emergency plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of this Soviet Central Asian Republic, which ended late on Wednesday evening.

In the adopted statement, the participants of the plenum condemned the anti-Constitutional coup carried out in the country by a group of political adventurers and pointed to the tardiness and absence of a timely and principled evaluation of these events on the part of the Bureau and Secretariat of the Communist Party of Tajikistan. "The CPSU Central Committee, its Politburo and Secretariat did not come out against the coup, notes the document, they did not take a decisive position condemning and opposing the conspiracy and this put in a false situation millions of honest Communists, including members of the Communist Party of Tajikistan. The plenum declares the full independence of the Communist Party of Tajikistan. Proceeding from the changes in the party's functions and tasks in a law-governed state and taking into account the processes of renewal of all spheres of the republic's life, it is essential to carry out a radical renewal of the Communist Party, to relinquish interference in state structures, to define a new program of its activity as a party of parliamentarian type, to introduce changes in the rules and to study the expediency of changing the name of the republic's Communist Party."

The statement voiced support for the Communists of Russia and of other Union republics during these days, which are difficult for the party. It emphasised the importance of the speediest possible conclusion of the Union treaty, which would take into account the present day realities, of continuation in the direction of transition of the economy to market relations and of bringing the Republic out from economic crisis.

The plenum has decided to hold on 19 October this year an extraordinary Congress of the Communist Party of Tajikistan in order to examine the political situation which has developed in the Republic and to deal with the issues concerning ideo-political and organizational self-determination of the Communist Party of Tajikistan.

The plenum was addressed by Kakhar Makhkamov, President of the Tajik SSR, who is also a leader of the Republic's Party organization. He told the Communists about the position he personally and the Central Committee of the Tajikistan Communist Party took during the unconstitutional coup, stressed that both the Central Committee leadership and the majority of local party committees did not obey the demands of the State Committee on the State of Emergency and did not implement a single instruction. In the situation that had arisen he does not consider his further membership in the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee possible, noted Kakhar Makhkamov. He made the announcement to this effect as early as on 22 August.

Party Central Committee Holds Plenum

LD2908222591 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1000 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] The Tajik Communist Party Central Committee ninth extraordinary plenum began on 28 August. It discussed the issue of convening the Tajik Communist Party's 22d extraordinary congress. Makhkamov, Tajik Communist Party Central Committee first secretary and president of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic, addressed the plenum.

Deputies Demand Leadership's Resignation

LD2908211591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1500 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Report from Dushanbe by radio correspondent Rusiko Shadiyev]

[Text] The latest session of the republic's Supreme Soviet started in Dushanbe, the capital of Tajikistan, today. There is only one item on the agenda—the political situation and the assessment of the republican leadership's actions with regard to the events of 19-21 August in the city of Moscow.

Despite this, before the discussion of the agenda, the majority of deputies condemned the actions of the republic's leadership for their indecisiveness and demanded that President Makhkamov, the republican Supreme Soviet, and the Council of Ministers should resign.

Today at noon thousands rallied outside the parliament building in support of the Russian parliament and in favor of the resignation of the president of Tajikistan and the republic's leadership. The meeting was organized on the initiative of the Democratic Party of Tajikistan and the Rastokhez public movement.

Participants in the rally honored the memory of the heroes who fell in Dushanbe in February 1989 and in Moscow on 21 August.

'Thousands' Rally Against Government

LD3008171191 Tehran IRNA in English 1353 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, Aug. 30, IRNA—Thousands of Muslims of Dushanbe, capital of the Soviet Tajik republic, held a rally for the second consecutive day in front of the republican parliament Friday demanding dismissal of the Tajik government and dissolution of the local Communist Party.

Many Muslims joined the rally after the Friday prayer ceremonies in the city's mosques, protesting Tajik leaders for having adopted the policy of wait and see during and after the August 19 aborted coup against President Mikhail Gorbachev.

Tajik Muslim leaders addressing the demonstrators on Thursday and Friday called among other things for bringing to justice the local leaders, purging the government of active communist members and dissolving the Communist Party. Mufti of Tajikistan Sheikh Akbar Torijan-Zadeh [name as received] in a telephone interview with IRNA said the situation in Dushanbe is tense anticipating that the local government will soon collapse. He said the Muslims in the republic demand formation of a parliamentary commission comprising representatives of all parties and political and social organizations to evaluate reaction of the Tajik leaders to the 60-hour aborted coup and punish them accordingly. Torijan-Zadeh added the Muslims also demand improvement of economic conditions in Tajikistan through adoption of new measures including the right to private ownership of land and free trade. He also stressed that all the estates of the Tajik Communist Party must be nationalized. The mufti said that dispatch of the draftees to other Soviet republics must be stopped until the situation in the country gets back to normal. Annually some 90,000 youths are enrolling for military service in Tajikistan. Asked to comment on prospects for independence in Tajikistan, Torijan-Zadeh said the republic is seeking political independence within the Soviet Union. Under the present circumstances, he told IRNA, it is impossible to cease economic cooperation with other republics since economic and financial potentials of Tajikistan are limited.

Construction Work on Nuclear Facility Halted

LD2908153591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0900 GMT 28 Aug 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] The city soviet has decided to end construction of a nuclear reactor in Dushanbe—the capital of Tajikistan—since the reactor was being constructed in a highly seismic zone and did not meet the requirements of the international nuclear energy agency. Hence, according to the LITERARY NEWSPAPER over R2 million has been wasted. This amount of money was already spent on the construction of the reactor. Dismantling it will not be cheap either, costing approximately R500,000.

Turkmenistan

President Niyazov Stresses Sovereignty

LD2908193891 Ashkhabad Radio Ashkhabad Network in Russian 1530 GMT 27 Aug 91

[Text] As you already know, on 22 August there was a joint session of the Presidential Council of the Turkmen

Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] and the presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet. Saparmurad Atayevich Niyazov, president of the Turkmen SSR, congratulated the participants in the session on a noteworthy date, the anniversary of the signing of the declaration of sovereignty of the Turkmen SSR. He described this event as historic, of unrivaled significance for the fate of the republic and its people.

Noting the main landmarks in the development of the republic over the year, and the results in practical implementation of sovereignty which prove the [words indistinct], Saparmurad Atayevich, Niyazov at the same time stressed the need for [word indistinct] and deepening of the process of promoting sovereignty, and working out a mechanism of law-based regulation that would allow—while observing (?and insuring) the unity of the country, the construction of mutual relations both with the center and with the other republics on an exclusively equal, independent, and mutually advantageous basis.

Saparmurad Atayevich Niyazov also dwelt on the tragic events of those three days in our country. He noted that the leadership of the republic, which did not follow the anticonstitutional committee, and did not accept or implement a single one of its instructions, was guided by the aim of preserving an atmosphere of calm in the republic and civil accord [word indistinct] destabilizing aspects generating rumors and panic. The main thing was achieved —a healthy atmosphere in the republic was preserved.

Having expressed great satisfaction at the outcome of the events and the return to office of Mikhail Gorbachev, Saparmurad Niyazov noted that in the light of what took place the strengthening of the republic's sovereignty is a vital and urgent task. While developing sovereignty, we must also develop and strengthen still further the friendship of peoples, traditions of which are strong and unshakeable in our republic.

In concluding the session, Saparmurad Atayevich Niyazov, president of the Turkmen SSR, said:

[Begin Niyazov recording] I want once more to congratulate all our inhabitants on today's holiday, the entire Turkmen people and the nations and ethnic groups living in our republic, on the first anniversary of the adoption of the declaration of independence and sovereignty of our republic. And I wish that this nationwide holiday of ours will bring in practice freedom in our life, independence, equality to all citizens living in our republic. It exists, but we must strictly observe the declaration and strengthen friendship and brotherhood among peoples, and a guarantee of this is the execution of the declaration [word indistinct] of which I think must always be that chosen by the people of our republic. There must, of course be some sort of guarantee preventing an irrecoverable coup. There must be some sort of political and [word indistinct] mechanism which would never allow any sort of group of people, (?whoever they may be) to establish dictatorship [words indistinct]. I think that this is now worrying all leaders: In order to insure democracy, we must create this mechanism and develop it as quickly as possible.

As for the military, the commanders of troops and garrisons stationed on the territory of the Turkmen SSR, I sincerely thank Aleksandr Bogdanov and all other garrison commanders who reacted with understanding to our appeals, our proposals not to introduce a state of emergency, not to bring in hardware, not to bring in [words indistinct], not to panic army subunits [words indistinct] all of them, fellow citizens of sovereign, independent Turkmenia in the renewed union reacted with understanding to the Supreme Soviet and instructions from the president. I want to thank them all for that. [end recording]

Uzbekistan

President Declares Seizure of Party Goods

LD2908230191 Tashkent Radio Tashkent International Service in English 1200 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] The Uzbek president, Islam Karimov, has issued a decree on the property of the Soviet Communist Party on the republic's territory. Taking into account numerous demands of the working people and the current process of further democratization and guided by the declaration on state sovereignty of the Uzbek republic, the president's decree dated 24 August proclaims all property of the Soviet Communist Party on the territory of Uzbekistan the property of the republic and its people. The Cabinet of Ministers under the Uzbek president and the soviets of people's deputies are to do all the necesssary work to translate this decree into life and ensure the safety of this property and its further (?use) in keeping with the legislation of the Uzbek republic.

Education Agreement With Afghanistan Signed

LD2908203391 Tashkent Radio Tashkent International Service in English 1200 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] An agreement on cooperation has been signed between the Ministry of Public Education of Uzbekistan and the Ministry of Education of Afghanistan. This was done in the course of the recent visit to the Uzbek republic by a delegation of the Ministry of Education of Afghanistan. The agreement provides for various forms of cooperation in the field of education. [passage indistinct]

Cooperation is called upon not only to promote the improvement of the educational process on the basis of international experience but also on mutual understanding between the two peoples united by community of their cultures and customs.

Communist Party To Convene Congress 14 Sep

LD2908174791 Tashkent Radio Tashkent International Service in English 1200 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] A joint plenary meeting of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan has been held in Tashkent. It discussed the question about the tragic events on 19-21 August and the tasks of the republican party organization.

The First Secretary of the Communist Party of Uzbekisan President Islam Karimov delivered a report.

The resolution of the plenary meeting says that the abortive state coup staged on 19-21 August placed the country on the verge of a catastrophe. The plenary meeting fully supported the stand and practical actions of the leadership of the republic and its Communist Party.

To discuss the questions connected with the further activities of the republic's Communist Party, the plenary meeting decided to convene an extraordinary 23d congress of the Communist Party of Uzbekisan on 14 September.

Karimov Against Disbanding Party

LD2908175291 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1500 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Karimov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and president of Uzbekistan, has announced his categorical disagreement with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's decision. Speaking in Tashkent, at a joint plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the republic's Communist Party, he said that it is Gorbachev's right to announce his resignation as CPSU secretary general. However, to speak about the party disbanding itself, and the future of its assets and property—this must be decided either by the plenum, or the congress of the party. The issues of vital importance for the Communists will become subject for discussion at the forthcoming emergency 23d congress of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, scheduled for mid-September.

Protest Against 'Communist Dictatorship' Planned

OW2908170491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1600 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A meeting is to take place in Kokand, Uzbekistan, on Sunday in protest against "communist dictatorship" and for the release of activists from all parties and movements opposed to the CPSU, IF [INTERFAX] was told at the press service of the Islamic Rebirth party (IRP).

According to a spokesman for IRP, reprisals began long before the August 19 coup. On July 12 the chairman of the popular movement "Humaneness and Charity" Kakhraman Khamidov, his deputy Fazleddin Nadjmeddinov and activists Abdulkhok Usmanov, Sharafeddin Isayev and Anvar Yunusov who are also members of the IRP were arrested in Kokand on the pretext of having organized an unauthorized meeting. When the coup began, Uzbek authorities took advantage of it and began to arrest all members of opposition parties and movements.

The IRP spokesman urged all democratic movements to join the meeting scheduled for Sunday.

New Independence, Unity Parties Register

OW2908170891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1415 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Thursday the Uzbek party "ERK" (Independence) submitted to the republican Ministry of Justice its documents needed for registration. A month earlier the popular movement "Birlik" (Unity) submitted its program and rules with a view to getting registered.

The Communist Party might become the third. On Wednesday its Central Committee held a plenum and announced that it broke its links with the USSR Communist Party. It also announced its intention to convene an etraordinary congress for the purpose of forming a new party with its own rules, program and name.